ASPECTS OF INTERETHNIC INTEGRATION IN ARUBA, NETHERLANDS ANTILLES

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is the result of an attempt to determine the adequacy of the use of voluntary associations as a tool for certain types of studies of complex societies, as for example the investigation of patterns of interethnic relations. Associations per se were studied and in addition were utilized as a means of collection and analysis of general societal and cultural data. Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, a highly heterogeneous area as well as a part of the Caribbean less well known to social scientists, was selected to determine mechanisms by which foreign migrants were integrated or interacted with native Arubans, the degree to which integration occurred, the levels and circumstances.

The study was divided into three phases. The first was devoted to making an exploratory baseline study of the island composition and to determining the appropriate approach to the study of voluntary associations in the Aruban situation. An attempt was made to contact knowledgeable members or officers of all the existing voluntary associations on the island, including recreational, sports, economic, civic, and religious associations and those cutting across all ethnic and class lines. The second phase involved participant observation in associational activities and the preparation and administration of a questionnaire to 213 members of 83 voluntary associations by means of 141 scheduled group and individual interviews. The third phase consisted of the analysis and write-up of the material.

Aruba does not appear to conform to the generalizations regarding the Netherlands Antilles which seem to have developed from studies based primarily on Curaçao and the Windward Islands. This results from the fact that historically Aruba has had more contact with mainland South American countries than with metropolitan Holland. Consequently, in a typology of race relations of the Caribbean, Aruba would tend to approximate those values of the Iberian rather than the northwest European islands.

The island and the native Aruban population specifically have experienced drastic changes after 1930 due to the establishment of oil refineries and the subsequent hiring of masses of workers from surrounding areas. However, little concomitant demoralization or social disorganization is apparent. The data indicate that there is a high degree of positive interaction between natives and non-natives on all levels, despite verbal statements to the contrary. Association memberships frequently cross-cut all ethnic groups producing a "meshing" effect. An element of differential acculturation depending on residential location is apparent on the island.

Voluntary associations, especially the ethnic variety, were important in the cultural, economic, quasi-political, recreational, and educational life of the Aruban residents, serving as bridges between the old ways and the new, and as instruments for community development and self improvement.

Collection of general data through the voluntary associations cross-cut all the vertical and horizontal segments existing on the

island, and effectively revealed interrelationships on a group as well as an individual level.

Integration was generally facilitated by the type of language use on the island; intermarriage among various groups; relationships within and between voluntary associations; a prior form of occupational specialization; the industrial complex; and the newly developed "national" culture. Certain institutions like the church and part of the state apparatus operated both as integrative and as isolative mechanisms, depending on the specific groups or sections of the society concerned.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent years some anthropologists, both social and cultural, have become concerned whether anthropology has the tools to adequately study problems of complex societies (Despres 1968, Manners 1965). As Rubin stated:

> Anthropologists working in modern interdependent societies face a multitude of research problems that require new conceptual and methodological approaches. The framework of research suitable for the study of small self-contained units must obviously be revised in examining the interdependent segments of larger sociocultural wholes. Field techniques and methodology will naturally depend on the framework of research (Rubin 1960:119).

Others maintain that the essential human relationships are the same in both the "primitive and complex" societies. For example, Mandelbaum (1956:221) has stated:

> In whatever context we may apply our methods of studying civilization, whether in the little community or in the vast reaches of great tradition, it does us little good to perpetuate certain questionable notions about these methods. The notion that anthropological method was perfected on simple and static primitives is . . . a misleading one.

In his article, "Anthropological Studies of Complex Societies," Eisenstadt (1965:86) wrote:

> It is true that most of these studies deal with types of groups or institutional units which are, to some extent, similar to those studied in tribal societies, yet these units are not as self-contained or closely overlapping as in the latter. In the complex societies, the units interlock into wider settings in ways different from those of primitive societies. It is this interlocking that creates many problems for the understanding of patterns of social behavior and their relation to group and institutional structure in societies.

W. L. Warner (1953:29) states that, ". . . although in study of modern society the anthropologist does not have to change his approach to the body of theory, he does have to change almost everything connected with method and technique." Burton Benedict (1966:28), in his discussion of small scale societies and those with small social fields, illustrates a difference in cohesiveness between the complex and the traditional society in his statement, "A society like Mauritius, with its different ethnic elements each with its own religion and style of life, is less cohesive than the kingdom of Tonga. Yet both are rapidly affected by any major decisions or changes." When writing of West African urbanization Little (1965:166) stated that his data suggest "the disappearance of simple narrow systems of integration in favor of more complex wider systems . . ." and proposes the "model" of voluntary associations, which includes both adaptive and integrative functions, as one tool for understanding the interrelationships and influences of roles on the course of change.

This concept of voluntary association has been used in this study as a tool for both collection and analysis of data in an attempt to determine specific mechanisms by which West Indian migrants in Aruba are integrated into Aruban society, or interact with native Arubans, the degree to which this occurs, at what levels, and under what conditions. This has been an attempt to determine if this tool is adequate or aids in the understanding of interaction in complex, that is, large scale heterogeneous, if not plural, societies.

Studies by Epstein (1961) and Gluckman (1966a) of the African Copperbelt, and Mayer (1961) in South Africa, have pointed to the

operation of the principle of situational change which seems to somewhat resemble the isolative or compartmentalizing form of integration discussed by Dozier (1961) for Pueblo Indians. The principal of situational change will be referred to as well as situational selection in this discussion, for although situational change is involved, it is the selection of behavior that is effective in a given environment which is the most crucial at this point. Situational selection involves the shift of individuals back and forth between sectional or tribal behavior versus communal or urban behavior depending on the situation in which they find themselves at a given time. This principle would of necessity be altered to apply to the West Indian scene. In the Caribbean the sectional orientation would not be tribal, but individual island versus a semi-urban, industrialized orientation. One problem with this approach when applied to the island situation is that basically West Indian cultures are more similar to each other (Hoetink 1967) and offer less contrast than the tribal-urban relation in Africa or the tribal-Spanish of the Pueblo peoples.

In spite of the above differences, it was proposed that situational selection operates in Aruba. It was felt that Dutch Government and Standard Oil Company restrictions on the international migrants would serve to produce the effect of cohesiveness in their more public lives. However, it was proposed that in their private lives these migrants would act as "Bajans", Trinidadians, Sabans, . . . , again in response to the above restrictions but through voluntary associations. The purpose of the research was therefore dual -- to learn to what degree non-Arubans had been integrated into Aruban society and to

determine if this information could be obtained through the study of voluntary associations, that is, if this model would apply for the Caribbean situation as well as in West Africa. It was recognized that the situation in some of the larger West Indian islands such as Santo Domingo years ago, Trinidad, Curaçao, or Aruba, offers many similarities to the migration situations in West Africa. This is especially true when one considers the coming and going of migrant workers of varying nationalities from other islands, the speaking of several dialects and languages with varying degrees of proficiency, the maintaining of families in many cases in the home islands with funds from the migrants' employment with some instances of families accompanying the worker and/or liaisons being established in the various places of employment.

The Original Plan for Field Work

As the refineries were located near Sint Nicolaas, Aruba's second city, the foreign migrants were presumably concentrated there. Residence was to be in Sint Nicolaas and research was to be carried out first in this setting for seven to eight months, with a later shift to Oranjestad for three or four months if necessary, in an attempt to determine if there were significant interrelationships or differences in types of interaction between the two locations, and why.

Little's general definition of voluntary associations, ". . . institutionalized groups in which membership is attained by joining . . ." (1965:17) was to be used. Studies were to be made of various types of associations, as for example: religious; economic (such as burial or susu); work, i.e., trade unions or other types; and recreational, if these categories existed.

It was felt that it would be impossible to work with all the nationalities represented on Aruba, but that special attention would be placed on the Windward Islanders as foreign Dutch, the British West Indians as complete foreigners, and the native Arubans. One reason for this breakdown was the fact that both the Windward Islanders and the British West Indians were English speaking. The other principal languages spoken in Aruba are Dutch and a creole language known as Papiamentu. It had been impossible to get a Dutch or a Papiamentu tutor while preparing for the field, and it would be possible to work in English while learning Papiamentu and strengthening my meager Dutch. It would be necessary to determine from which islands the migrants came. British islands were to be classed into three groups: (1) mixed, but predominantly English in culture -- Jamaica, Trinidad, St. Vincent; (2) strictly English -- Barbados, Antigua, St. Kitts; (3) French based -- Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, Carriacou. The island with the largest number of migrants in each group was to be used to represent each class. Thus three British groups would be isolated in addition to one Aruban and one foreign Dutch, that is, Sint Maarten, Saba, or St. Eustatius.

Although it was recognized that people in some societies are more association-conscious than others, it was evident that British West Indians tend to establish cricket clubs, British West Indian associations and similar organizations wherever they go; therefore, it was felt that the proposal might not have to be completely thrown out upon reaching the field. It was hoped that contact could be made with ten associations of each type mentioned above, for example, religious, economic, and for each ethnic group, which would total 250 associations. Two

scheduled interviews were to be made in each association, either with two knowledgeable members of each organization, or one officer and one small group of members (with three-four persons maximum). Certain of those associations would be selected for more intensive study and observation. In addition, material was to be gathered from local offices such as registrations of marriages and births, from general participant observation, and by interview schedules. In view of the nature of this proposed project and the heterogeneity of its setting, the concept of social field (Epstein 1961, Gluckman 1966a) was more appropriate than the more confining traditional community concept. Manners (1965:192) has discussed the need for more realistic approaches to the study of "modern tribes, villages, communities and towns," and proposed the social field as possibly more fruitful.

In studying the flow of remittances to Caribbean islands he discovered the concept of social field was more useful as it included study of the linkages between islands and various metropolitan areas as against the community studies approach which tended to emphasize boundaries. He stated (1965:192), "This may very well mean the end of community studies as they have customarily been conducted."

The Adjusted Field Plan

Upon reaching Aruba, the interviewer learned that the refinery, the basis of Aruban prosperity over the years and the creator of much of the heterogeneity in the island, had laid off the majority of foreign "locals" over a period of the last few years. These people had subsequently repatriated or gone to other places such as St. Croix, the United States, or Holland seeking work. As a result of the lack of members,

many organizations were no longer in existence and others were floundering. Native Arubans and non-natives told me that the Arubans themselves had no organizations other than those in the "Top Ten", that is, the Aruban old families and the elite. Consequently it was no longer possible to take ten associations in each area, for in addition to the layoffs, the native Aruban had not shown such interest in clubs or organizations as the Britishers, and the Windward Islanders fell somewhere in between the two groups. It was therefore decided to simply interview representatives of as many of the major associations throughout the island as could be located, in an effort to see the make-up of the different organizations and their interrelationships with the other groups. The compilation of island clubs was a somewhat tedious process for there were no available lists of associations. Through interviews, short verbal contacts, and other media, a list of 86 associations of various types was compiled. The study was divided into three phases: the first, orientation and exploration of the island; the second, preparation and administration of the questionnaire and interviews; and third, analysis and compilation of the data.

The first months were spent actually determining what types of associations were in existence, learning about the island itself, and attempting to learn Papiamentu and some Dutch. The plan was to live in an Aruban home in order to learn the language and gain insight into the native Aruban culture. Of all those to be intensively studied, the Arubans would be the most difficult with whom to establish contacts by means of general participant observation.

After the first week of Phase I, the writer was able to move into a local Surinam home while the family went on vacation. The relationship proved congenial to both sides and residence continued there for several weeks after the whole family returned. During this time, application was made for an extended visa. In the meanwhile, the search for a room with an Aruban family continued. Several informants were looking for suitable homes, but it became clear that this was something that had to be handled personally. The first request for the visa was denied, and at that point the writer moved into a hotel. A room was secured in the home of an Aruban family upon explaining the situation, for they felt that the visa problem was simply a matter of explaining in greater detail my purposes, for ". . . after all, this is a democracy." Although the second request was for ten to twelve months, permission was granted for only an additional three months with the stipulation that if more time was needed, my professor should write to explain why.

During the first three months or the first phase, I became quite familiar with Aruba and felt better able to prepare questions which were relative to the particular conditions of the associations on the island itself. A questionnaire was devised to be used with all the associations contacted, to try to determine reasons for the founding of the organization; their meeting procedures; objective; membership both in numbers and ethnicity; and relationships with other associations. An attempt was made to get the most knowledgeable informants -- those with knowledge extending over numerous years and over various aspects of club affairs. In most instances some member of the Bestuur, the officers, was

interviewed. Often those who were recently elected and who were also fairly new to the association would suggest other individuals with more experience. In a number of cases, they would arrange joint or group interviews including those members or officers they felt could best answer the questions. It is interesting that in this area more than in other places where the writer has done field research (Mexico, United States, Puerto Rico), the informants were often shy about their information, even when there was a general local concensus that these were knowledgeable persons. They would often humbly deny that their knowledge would be sufficient to help. There were a total of 82 single interviews, and 61 of two or more persons; the largest group consisted of nine individuals. A total of 213 people were interviewed. Frequently there were discussions of the questions between members during the interviewing sessions, which allowed more insight into their activities. In several cases there were disagreements among members.

In addition to serving as a time for establishing rapport, the first phase was important because during this period a form of "cultural baseline" was obtained which served as a check for data gathered by the questionnaire method. That is, the interviewer had some idea of how the society functioned or was supposed to function, and it could then be observed whether data fell into patterns or whether there were deviations.

After three months, the second phase of the study, the administration of the questionnaire, was initiated. At this point, the writer moved into a house alone in order to interview and type when necessity demanded, which was a bit inconvenient in private homes. By this time, a reputation as a hard working seeker of information had been

established: "That greyhaired lady who asks about clubs . . ." The house was situated near several informants and was surrounded by the homes of young couples who were aware of the nature of my work. These couples, and their children, in a sense acted as chaperones for my activities, for few single women live alone on the island. Even a mother with several sons, 9 to 13 years old, is frequently felt to "be alone" when the husband is out of the home and this means that some other female family member should come and stay with her. Furnished apartments were both rare and expensive, and upon the advice of informants an unfurnished apartment was secured which they helped to furnish by lending tables, chairs, used refrigerator, and stove.

The exploratory interviews during the first phase helped smooth the way for the interviewing as many of those already contacted were members of various associations. These individuals helped by agreeing to be interviewed; or, when they felt others were more knowledgeable, they arranged interviews and helped build lists of organizations. In the majority of instances, it seemed best to have face to face contact with the persons to be interviewed so that they could actually see the writer and have a first hand explanation of the purpose of the study. Although there were many shifts of appointments during the four to five week Christmas house painting and general clean-up time, and also during February when the flu epidemics raged and Carnival preparations were in progress, few individuals actually evaded or refused to have the interviews. One scheduled the appointment and then went off to visit a brother at the appointed time. Another said the group was simply too nebulous and information was lacking, although this same person had

given me a lengthy impromptu interview regarding this same association. It also helped rapport noticeably to leave the island and then return. I arrived in Aruba July 14, worked vigorously making contacts and exploring the possibilities for field work for four days, then left to attend a Consortium in Trinidad. Upon returning, many of the native Arubans who had been rather distant seemed friendlier and more helpful on subsequent visits.

As a result of the first exploratory period of three months, at least 45% of the interviews came after the interviewer had been in prior contact with the individuals, or they had heard of the study through friends of colleagues. One individual said, "I had heard of you and wondered when you would come." The purpose of the research was explained and only in a few cases was there resistance to the questions. It was noted that those with the least academic or organizational experience, and those who were least secure in their residence on the island and in their financial situation, were apt to refuse to answer questions or to request that information remain confidential. For example, on question No. 50, "What would you say have been the main changes in Aruba over the years?" one person referred me to the government information service. Several felt that the question was "political", whereas others answered in terms of wide ranges of change from types of dress to vegetation and the rain patterns of the island. After the questionnaire was compiled, it was shown to several people in positions to gauge public opinion and they felt that there was nothing there that would arouse indignation or cause the informants any great discomfort.

The original plan was to hire an assistant and at least one clerk-typist. However, after arrival it was soon discovered that this was impossible due to the fact that the Antillean students were not overly exposed to the social sciences in school nor had the community been exposed to various types of surveys as have some of the British and French islands. However, even in the British areas, Braithwaite (1960:99) points out a desperate need of the social sciences, "But it is highly doubtful whether the society as a whole is sufficiently aware of its needs or of the discipline concerned to make anything like adequate provision for social research." He also pointed out (1960:100) that "The social sciences in the United Kingdom are relatively underdeveloped, and if sociology, for instance, is not taught in the British Caribbean, we must bear in mind that at Oxford and Cambridge it has hardly achieved recognition." Essentially the same condition or worse exists in the Netherlands. Those familiar with this line of study were the few social workers who were already fully occupied. Considerable time would have been required to seek out an individual with the inclination and the insight, and subsequently to train the person. As important, it would have been necessary to find a person from a family which felt secure enough in their residence to be able to withstand any criticism which might come if the research findings would be felt to be detrimental to the island in the future. Due to these factors and the fact that my request for needed time was not granted in full until the study was half over, it was felt best to use all the available time and work alone. As a result, the scope and depth of the study is necessarily limited.

There were 143 scheduled questionnaires with 73 questions completed. Representatives of 82 associations were interviewed, and 77 were completed. Five associations were to arrange second interviews, but never did. Work with 27 associations was completed with one interview; 52 had two; two associations had three interviews; and one organization had four. The plan was to conduct interviews in 86 associations. No interview was conducted in one association although an appointment was scheduled. This was apparently due to difficulties which they were having internally. Another was dormant and the knowledgeable members were off the island the majority of the time. The constant traffic between other Caribbean islands, northern South America (Surinam, Guyana, and especially Venezuela and Colombia), Holland, and the United States often interfered with the interviewing process. The trips were made for vacations, and some lasted up to six months, and for educational purposes, for example short courses and specialized higher education in general.

Voluntary associations in existence one year or under, those dormant or on a steep decline, children's organizations, those with branches all over the island as labor unions, and those where few of the knowledgeable informants spoke English or Spanish, were given only one interview. Interviews varied from one to three hours in length, with the majority lasting one and one-half hours. Only one was less than one hour. One was held in Spanish, the remainder in English, but knowledge of Papiamentu was important to understand the side conversations. The interviewer attained a good knowledge of written and spoken Papiamentu but remained at a low level in Dutch, the official language. This situation occurred due to the fact that Papiamentu was the more important of

the two languages for research purposes and therefore was the choice for intensive study. However, an investigator with all four languages, Papiamentu, English, Dutch, and Spanish, would be capable of understanding practically all of the side conversations and all the reports from the news media. The majority of the interviews were held in informants' homes, offices, and the club houses, a few in restaurants and in the investigator's home.

In addition to the scheduled interviews, the interviewer attended both the regular and special meetings and activities of 34 of the groups, not including those activities specifically of Carnival. In a few instances the writer was called upon to be the speaker for a group, at which time a more lengthy discussion of anthropology and its possible uses was given. In general, this was discouraged due to the time consumed, but in some instances it was impossible to escape. The types of organizations varied and also the "class range".

Members of one of the elite groups questioned the fact that my data would have any relevance to practical problems and one flatly assumed that the governmental officials would never be allowed access to this material. Another member of the group, whose brother was a Doctor of Philosophy in Europe, interrupted to say that of course the government would have access to my results. Throughout the study, people of all walks of life constantly asked seriously for copies of my report, some even expressing willingness to pay the charges for their copies. This interest and the general sophistication of the islanders underscored the need to safeguard confidences and in some way protect the informants who had given information for scientific purposes

(Horowitz 1967; Silvert 1967; Galtung 1967). This would especially be true where there is a rather uneasy or an unclear situation existing in the locality. After completing one interview, the informant said, "Now if anything is not clear call me and I shall clarify it for I have seen how these things get twisted in print." Also, some were aware of research done in other islands where the publications had met with the disapproval of a number of the islanders. One individual who originated from one of these islands was at first reticent to talk to the investigator, but later explained that data had been published which " . . . read like X's life" and "everyone knew who it was." Supposedly the islanders were subsequently divided between those who felt that the material would have never been published had X not told the investigator, and others who felt even so the information should not have been divulged in such a manner. As a result of this experience, many reportedly were more distant with subsequent investigators. In view of the size of Aruba and the relatively small number of associations in existence, every effort has been made to keep the groups as anonymous as possible.

The general approach was to explain that the anthropologists traditionally had studied primitive or peasant societies, and that at this point methods were needed for understanding complex, heterogeneous areas.

Compilation and analysis of the data, the third phase of this study, took place during the last several months of residence in Aruba and following my return to the United States.

Voluntary Associations as a Tool for the Study of Complex Societies

The sociologists have often studied voluntary associations (Sills 1968) and these associations have figured importantly in the work of several anthropologists from varying aspects (Banton 1968). Warner and Srole (1945:256) studied the functions of association of the ethnic community in Yankee City, where they found that: "The development of ethnic associations is correlated with residential phases of the group, class strata, national and church representation, interaction-time and generations, and numbers in the group." Nall (1967:278) has recently studied voluntary associations and their effect in American society. His list of the critical cultural requirements for the existence of associations is as follows: (a) a relatively unified and standardized culture, widely shared but not universally shared in the same measure; (b) widespread public education and literacy; (c) the absence of values prescribing the ascendancy of any single institution or complex of institutions over all others." He also (1967:282) discovered that "membership and participation in associations are both sharply differentiated by social class."

M. G. Smith (1965b:101) also worked with cliques and clubs in his study of stratification in Grenada. Interestingly, he compiled a list of social isolates, i.e., ". . . individuals not belonging to any . . . clique, club or friendship grouping, that is, in no close voluntary associations . . ." Little (1965:3), as a result of his work in West Africa, has stressed the role of voluntary associations in situations of social change, stating that his interest was

> . . . not to describe voluntary associations as such, . . . but to provide a model which may be useful to students of social change. What to my mind is important is not the particular incidence of this form of social organization, but the light it throws directly or indirectly upon general problems of transition, including the results of industrial and technological change in 'advanced' as well as in tribal societies.

As stated earlier, he has pointed to the adaptive and integrative function and concludes that with the model of voluntary associations we have a "satisfactory tool for purposes of analysis . . . of more complex wider systems" of integration (1965:166).

The writer therefore wished to determine whether this "model" would prove fruitful when applied to a Caribbean situation. In recent years various authors have pointed out the fact that Caribbean studies have been limited in terms of the topics and ethnic groups (Mintz 1965; R. T. Smith 1963; Hoetink 1967:59) and also in terms of the geographical areas covered (Comitas 1967).

Lowenthal (1960) in an article, "The Range and Variation of Caribbean Societies", has mentioned the need for, and the difficulties involved in, studying the range and variation within each island for a later comparison throughout the islands. It was felt that one satisfactory approach to this type of problem would appear to be through study of voluntary associations. This approach is more general than that of the family or functional study, yet more specific than that of the community study method, in addition to the fact that in some of the more complex situations the community becomes increasingly more difficult to define. Due to the fact that functional studies such as politics and economics, and study through voluntary associations, operate from a pivotal point in the social structure, in a sense there is, or

can be, a more specific approach, an element of precision present which is lacking in the more generalized approach of community studies.

Crucial to this method is (1) the presence of a variety of associations in an area, and (2) the use of a broad concept of voluntary associations such as that of Little quoted above or Banton's (1968:357) "An association is a group organized for the pursuit of some interest or several interests in common. Associations are usually contrasted with involuntary groupings serving a greater variety of ends, such as kin groups, castes, social classes and communities." With such broad definitions, a sample of all the types of voluntary associations present in a given area would generally cross-cut all the possible segments in an area. Even relationships of such groups or individuals that refrain from joining, or are refused admission, are discussed or implicated by default. Consequently no social type, group, or segment present in the society would be omitted, given a broad sample of the existing associations. Certain authors have pointed out (Nall 1967:282; Rose 1954:51; Sills 1968:365) that in the United States the lower classes tend not to join associations as much as those of the higher classes. However, Richmond (1958:62) has shown that in the United Kingdom membership in a variety of associations is characteristic of all classes. The above illustrates the fact that association membership patterns may vary from society to society. However, the important point for a study using voluntary associations as a means for the collection and analysis of data is that (1) there are usually at least a few of the lower class associations functioning which would allow for observation of their interaction patterns, both internally and between other associations,

or (2) where there are none -- and this would be especially significant -- the relationship of this segment of society to the others could be gotten through the reference and operation of a number of the other associations. Isolates, therefore, are not as important in this use of voluntary associations as they would be if associations were to be studied per se. Associations then may serve as a type of instrument through which the length and breadth of types of relationships and interactions existing in a society or area may be observed. As a means for collecting data, voluntary associations serve to bridge or cross-cut functional (religious, political, economic) family and community units, in some cases simultaneously. For example in Aruba, there were cases when religious organizations and associations like the credit union included family members and were also composed of members of one "community". Voluntary associations are not restricted to the boundary limitations as are communities and also families, though they are restricted in a very different respect. In addition, voluntary associations may be somewhat more easily, or can be more rapidly, studied in view of the fact that rapport may be more easily established or that the same depth of rapport is not needed which may be required for family or community studies. This, however, depends on the personality and experience of the interviewer. Generally speaking, associations often have roles for outsiders both at meetings and social affairs, that is, observers from other associations, visitors, potential members, and speakers, so that the presence of an outsider is not necessarily disruptive. Communities and families do not, and considerable time must be spent establishing an acceptable role in addition to the building of rapport which is always crucial.

During research in Aruba, the writer was frequently invited to and attended regular meetings of men's associations where the presence of women was officially restricted.

It is recognized that material collected through the medium of voluntary associations would lack the depth of information gathered in functional and family studies. The latter are, of course, vital if one chooses to study religious, political, or kinship systems, or even to get an overall view of the operation of any one of these systems. Lewis (1968:25), in his studies of families, sees the family as a "small social system" and feels that "whole-family" studies allow us to "see both culture and personality as they are interrelated in real life." He (1968:25) points out that family studies ". . . also serve to delineate the social networks within which families transact their lives, and to this extent the family-study approach and the social-network-study approach are overlapping and mutually reinforcing." However, in studies dealing with interrelationships between various segments, either class or ethnic, in a heterogeneous society or where an overall view of the whole social system is needed, it appears that the method of voluntary associations would be more efficient as it is not limited by emphasis on any one system such as religion or economics, nor restricted to any boundaries, but is free to operate in the total social field or sphere of interconnected relationships. It should be obvious that this method can be fruitful only when applied to the study of societies above a certain level of socio-cultural integration in terms of Steward (1955) and Service (1962). At the local level where kinship is the principal integrating force or where kinship, economics, or political systems tend to

practically coincide, this method would be ineffective. Even on the tribal levels where sodalities play an integrative role, or higher levels of integration, other methods may be more efficient, depending on the particular research problem involved. The anthropologist should constantly be aware of the need to devise new methods if these will allow him to solve his problems with greater efficiency. One gets the idea that some anthropologists operate like the old trolley cars, following the traditional tracks and tending to avoid areas where methodology has not clearly been proven successful or "rigorous". In this context Manners and Kaplan (1968:11) stated: "But if we permit methodology to suggest the problem we deal with rather than allowing problems to determine the methodology, we clearly run the risk of becoming more precise about a continually narrowing range of cultural issues or phenomena." It would seem that attempts to experiment to find methods suitable for the solving of varying types of research problems are necessary (Braithwaite 1960), even if such methods are later found to be ineffective. This dissertation is the result of one such effort.

Since the Netherlands Antilles are so poorly known it was decided to work in that area. The Keurs had studied the Windward Islands, but the writer was unable to find any sociological or anthropological studies on the "ABC's", Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, at the time. It was later discovered that Dr. L. F. Triebls of Nijmegen spent six months on Aruba, living among the people collecting anthropological data, and that Dr. Romer has published material on Curaçao. It was felt that Aruba would be an ideal island to determine whether through the study of voluntary associations one could understand how various ethnic groups become

integrated into the total society. The island is small, 20 miles by 6, but yet complex due to the presence of the oil refinery which necessitated the importing of hundreds of foreign workers. Hawley (1960) considers Aruba to be comparable to an urban area due to its dependence on other areas for practically all of its consumer needs.

Although the research was hampered by the lack of staff and time, there was ample indication that by touching associations of all types across all the classes and ethnic groups, one would have a clear idea of the range and variation within societies that are both large scale and large social field. The study of associations is in a sense multidimensional as it allows one to see (a) the group functioning as a whole in relation to various power structures and in relation to other groups, and (b) individual relationships and interaction both within and between associations. Over a period of months, one cannot help but see the members also as separate individuals, members of families and neighborhoods, with their own values and motives. Thus an adequate study of voluntary associations can offer insight into operations on the level of individual interaction as well as group relationships. It was also discovered that the study of voluntary associations yielded a mass of information and relationships which without this method would have required much more time and more staff. There is one problem -- a study using only the voluntary associations would neglect the isolates; but it is felt that the isolates will generally cross-cut all other types, classes and ethnicity, so that this is not of primary importance in a study of range of variation, basic interaction patterns, or the general mechanisms of integration.

In this type of study it is essential that rapport should be established first, and sufficient data be obtained prior to the study in order to know what questions are particularly relevant to the island situation. Also important is the fact that if questionnaires are to be utilized they should be used verbally on a face-to-face basis and backed by observation for maximum results for there is still a difference between what is said and what really happens in the associations. Often the individual will explain more in your presence than by simply writing an answer or checking an item. Informants who were not members of certain associations often classified them as "all elite" or as "all Aruban" and "dark people had better watch out going there". However, when the interviewer observed activities or attended meetings it was found that in the first instance, a good number of "plain" people were present and in the second, that many non-native Arubans were members and that dark people took part freely in the activities. Under these circumstances, one can understand why the old anthropological props -- participant observation, use of, or at least knowledge of the native language, and a holistic framework -- are vital for more complete understanding of social phenomenon. W. L. Warner (1953, 1967; Warner and Srole 1945) have pointed out that the study of voluntary associations allows for both direct observation and a holistic approach, and that such studies are particularly effective in studying complex, heterogeneous communities or societies. As various authors have indicated in the past, for example, Arensberg (1954) in his work on the community study method, a variety of methods are needed for a really comprehensive study of complex societies. However, it is felt that for a rather rapid study when time, funds, and staff

are low, the study of voluntary associations may be used to advantage to shed light on problems of heterogeneity, interaction across various ethnic and class lines, and social change. Banton (1968:358) has stated:

> Insofar as the concept 'association' differentiates certain forms of groupings from others . . . its theoretical value lies in the analysis of social evolution. Voluntary associations become more common and significant as societies advance in technology, complexity, and scale; hence, their study is part of the study of social change.

Although data in the scheduled interviews was obtained from 213 informants, additional informants contributed information during exploratory and other interviews, in addition to the regular participant observation. Investigators who have dealt with a large number of informants while doing field research will no doubt agree that after a certain number of interviews, certain aspects of the data start falling into such regular patterns that even when shifting to completely different areas, the regularity continues. As a result, towards the end of the research period some aspects of the answers could almost be predicted. This form of repetition or patterning becomes quite evident in Lewis' presentation of data in the form of informants' statements in La Vida (1966), which caused a number of his critics (Eichhorn 1967; Beattie, 1967) to infer that the book was too repetitious. Under these conditions it becomes possible to select certain statements made by individual informants (Wolf 1967:495) to express pithily an attitude or expression voiced by a great number of informants. Therefore it will be unnecessary to continually clarify the fact that statements of an individual quoted represent in effect statements of a number of individuals expressed in more or less similar ways.

Definition of Terms

Islanders. The term will refer to the residents of Aruba, both native Aruban and non-native residents.

Social field. "A social field may be thought of as a series of interconnecting relationships all of which in some way influence one another" (Mitchell 1966:57).

Network. "Network" and "social field" are terms used by Barnes (1954:43). "Network" was considered as a type of interconnecting social field which connected his other two types, one of which was fluid, that is, the industrial, at sea, and the other which is stationary: the ". . . field of domestic agriculture and administrative activity ashore." "Network" was defined thusly: "The image I have is of a set of points some of which are joined by lines. The points of the image are people, or sometimes groups and the lines indicate which people interact with each other." "This network runs across the whole society and does not stop at the parish boundary." "A network of this kind has no external boundary, nor has it any clear-cut internal divisions, for each person sees himself at the centre of a collection of friends" (1954:43). Botts (1957) later used this concept of the network. Other authors adapted the concept of social field by combining Barnes' first two fields, the fluid and the stationary as Mitchell does in the above quote. Barnes used the concept of social fields for study of class, although he recognized its use for other purposes. He discussed (1954:44) networks of ties between neighbors who do not regard themselves as social equals. In this study network will be considered as ties between individuals or groups who do not necessarily regard themselves as equal in social status.

Integration. The way in which different groups or individuals are articulated with, or are combined to constitute part of, the island society. (See Chapter 5, page 160 for discussion.)

Folk. Those whose "style of life" is that ". . . which prevailed outside of the cities and yet within their influence . . ." (Redfield 1965:53) but which was essentially untouched by the effects of the Industrial Revolution. This life style, of course, differs from that of the "primitive" or tribal peoples who are basically independent, in Redfield's terms, uninfluenced, both culturally and economically, by the cities or civilization as a whole (1965).

Class. Used primarily in terms of the wage and educational scale, and includes individuals who are more urban in orientation, in contrast to the folk. "Lower" therefore includes individuals who earn the least and have the least education in the island scale.

Scale. Involves the numbers and types of role-relationships within a society (Wilson and Wilson 1945; Benedict 1966). Small-scale societies differ from the large-scale societies in that the latter have tremendous variety in the numbers and types of roles available. "In a small-scale society the individual interacts over and over again with the same individuals in virtually all social situations. In a large-scale society the individual has many impersonal or part-relationships (Benedict 1966:23).

Ethnic group. "An ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others" (Shibutani and Kwan 1965:47).

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND DATA FOR PRESENT DAY ARUBA

Aruba is one of the islands comprising the Netherlands Antilles, located 18 miles from the Venezuelan coast. It is approximately 20 miles long by about six miles wide at the widest point, situated 12°30' north latitude and 76° west longitude (see Figure 1).

The island is dry, of a semi-desert variety with a mean rainfall of 17 inches and a mean temperature of 87°F. It is dotted with bush trees, one variety of which, the divi-divi, is usually bent almost to a 45° angle by strong winds that are fairly constant throughout the year. In the past, property in the rural areas was frequently differentiated by use of cactus or stone fences reminiscent of parts of Mexico. As a result, lovely pastel colored houses in various Dutch styles may still be seen in the more rural areas -- locally called the cunucu -- surrounded by cactus or stone fences. Also clumps of diorite boulders and blocks of various sizes and shapes are found throughout the island.

The landscape and the lack of the type of riches sought by the conquistadors or the later colonizers allowed for the island's state of neglect, or caused a comparatively different type of colonizer to settle in Aruba. Perhaps because of this, there is a relative dearth of information on the lives of the aborigines first discovered on Aruba. This may result from the fact that the priests who were most often the recorders of this type of data were not actually in residence, but included

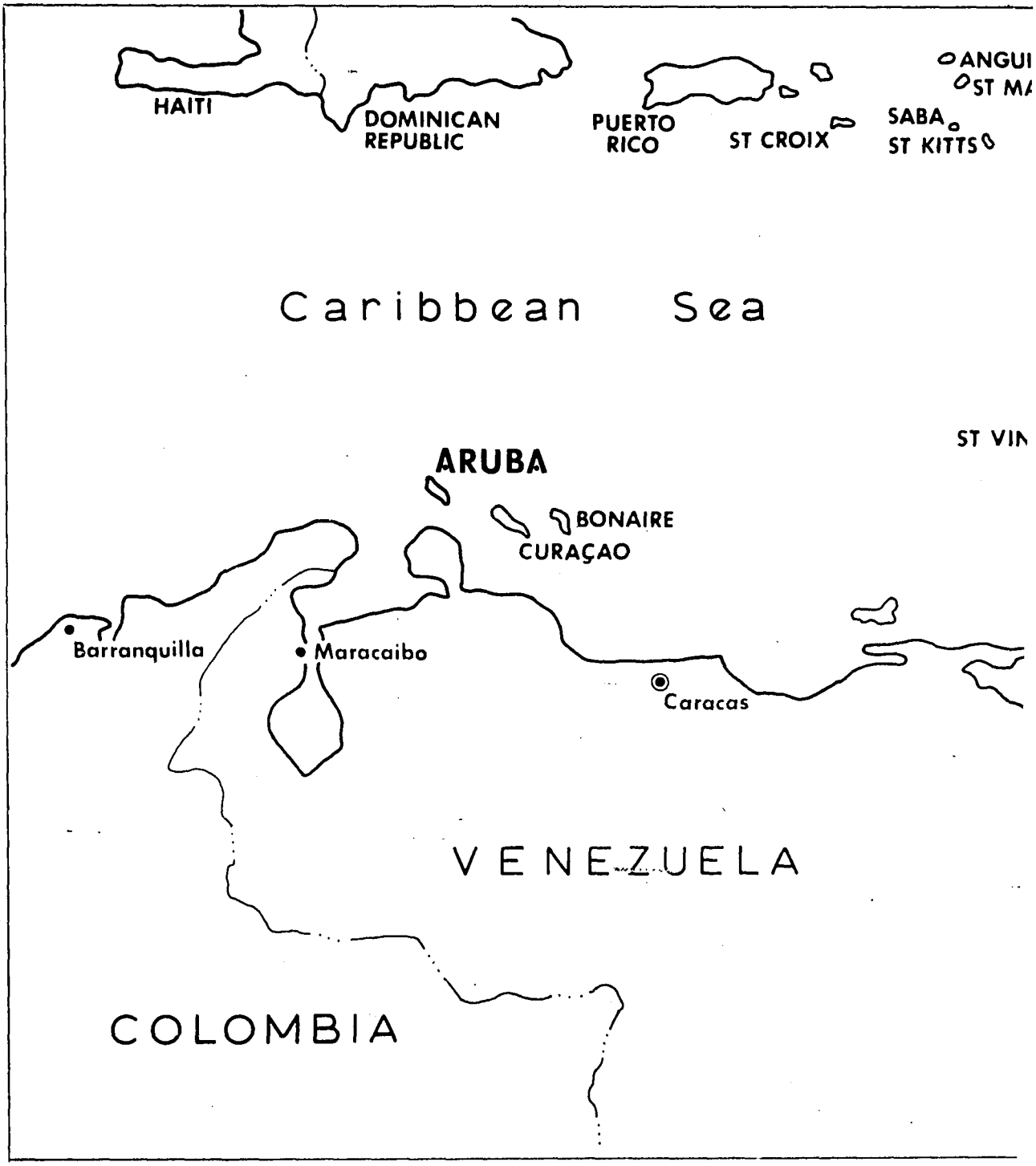

Figure 1. Map of Caribbean Sea depicting the location of Aruba in relat

ea depicting the location of Aruba in relation to the surrounding area.

the island in their round of visits. In addition, reliable, fairly scientific sources of data regarding the general history of Aruba appear few and far between, even in Dutch. Of the available resources in English, some are the touristic picture-book varieties or fairly romanticized types which must be read with care. One author states, "Aruba's Indians, however, were spared the cruelty of deportation to the mines of Hispaniola . . ." (Hannau N.D:7), which gives the impression they were not deported, a false statement according to the other sources. Therefore, a discussion of the history must necessarily be brief and depend on few sources for information. Even these give conflicting figures and information in certain cases. Consequently, precise information as to the first inhabitants found in Aruba or their way of life is lacking. Archaeological information is also scant, as there have been few systematic excavations to date. However, the few facts which are available point to the possibility that in pre-colonial days the inhabitants might have been touched by diverse cultural influences then as now. The island was discovered in 1499 by Alonso de Ojeda.

Aboriginal Days to 1900

Archaeological Evidence

A large part of the scant data which have been gathered thus far are the result of efforts of non-archaeologists. Thanks must be given H. J. van Koolwijl, a priest, for his interest in retrieving artifacts even if in a somewhat rudimentary and unscientific way, for his interest paved the way for other efforts. De Josselin De Jong, an ethnologist, did some rather precise excavating in the area of Santa Cruz. Du Ry

claims that in the Netherlands Antilles generally the nature of the soil, due to erosion and ". . . the insignificant concentration of shells . . ." (1960:82), is such that the stratigraphy is poorly defined. As a connection is recognized between the Antilles and Venezuela, Du Ry and others used the absolute chronology of Cruzent and Rouse from the publication, An Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela (1958).

Du Ry stated that the material from the Netherlands Antilles, including Aruba, "is contained in what is called the Dabajuroid series, and should be dated as belonging to Periods IV-V, that is, from 1150 to 1500, possibly on to A.D. 1900" (1960:88). However, there are five Cedros sherds which could be placed ". . . at the end of Period II, that is, to the third of fourth century A.D." (1960:89), which ". . . indicates that Aruba was inhabited in very remote times" (1960:94). Although there is a similarity between the pottery of Santa Cruz and Savaneta, two residential districts in Aruba, Du Ry felt the differences warranted classification into different styles.

After comparing the materials with those from the Venezuelan mainland, he felt the sphere of influence was much larger than had previously been accepted by De Josselin De Jong, Nomland, and Kidder II. Influence was not only noted from northwest Venezuela and Northeast Colombia, but farther eastward including the Margarita sites, and there are even some similarities to Chibcha pottery to the southwest (Du Ry 1960). This statement of varying influences was later corroborated by van Heekeren, "It is obvious that in Aruba influences have come from more than one direction" (1963:21).

After examining the archaeological evidence van Heekeren felt there were two different populations on the island. The original perhaps of Ciboney origin, "marginal, non-ceramic, coastal fisherman . . . " who practiced cave burials and ". . . used slingstones, stone balls and shell gouges" (1960:115). He also feels that this group was probably responsible for the rock paintings (1963:19). These were then joined by Caquetios, a branch of the Arawak group who were farmers, skilled merchants, and navigators. This group used stone celts, had elaborate pottery including anthropomorphic jars, and practiced secondary urn burial, both single and multiple. The evidence seems to show a peaceful blending of the two with established barter-trade with peoples on the Venezuelan mainland (1960: 116). Tacoma cites Hartog as also believing there were two pre-Columbian groups on the island. However, he points out another possibility following Fewkes' 1914 suggestion -- the artifacts might represent the evolution of marginal hunters or fishermen into agriculturalists (Tacoma 1959:96).

Skeletal remains, the majority apparently in poor states of preservation, have been analyzed by Koeze in 1904 (in Hummelinck, 1959) and by P. Wagenaar Hummelinck and Tacoma in 1959. The latter, as the forementioned archaeologists, taking the view that Aruba was in essence an extension of Venezuela due to its proximity and cultural affinities, found the Aruban skeletal material comparable with the Amazonid series of Venezuela (Tacoma 1959:99, 110). Although the analysis was complicated by the problem of whether or not the crania were artificially deformed, Tacoma felt that the Canashito finds were "a) . . . either the remains of a group which inhabited Venezuela before the intrusion

of the more recent low-headed groups, or b) the descendants of the group mentioned under a)" (1959:110).

The Spanish Administration

When the Spaniards arrived on the island, agriculturalists of the Caquetio Arawak group were identified. This does not mean that Caquetios or descendants of Caquetios were the only Indians present. Hartog stated "it was not always the same clans of Indians who peopled Aruba and its vicinity" (1960:6). "It is to be assumed that on this Island, because of its closer proximity to the continent, there lived a hodge-podge of tribes and clans . . ." (1960:7). He pointed out that various migrations of the many Indian groups living in the northern sections of what is now Colombia and Venezuela were taking place a century prior to the arrival of the Europeans (1960:6-7). An important fact to be considered in any analysis is that Aruba is situated on a "coastal" shelf 18 miles from the Venezuelan peninsula of Paraguana. Van Heekeren reports waters between the two areas allow both for good fishing and canoe navigation as the depth is only approximately 100 meters (1960:103). If this were the case in pre-Columbian times, or if the sea was even more shallow, transportation could have been exceedingly easy and might have resulted in considerable two-way traffic with trips varying in length of time spent on the island.

In any event, in 1515 after the island was declared useless, 2,000, or the majority of the Indian population on Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, were transferred to Santo Domingo where they might be "instructed". Those remaining who were unable to escape were killed (van Heekeren 1960:103; Tacoma 1959:95; Hartog 1960:8, 30). Later 200 of these Indians were returned to the Antilles. Some of these individuals were brought to

Aruba to exploit brazil wood which was plentiful on the island and sought by ships at the time.

In 1634 the Dutch, apparently motivated by a desire to defend themselves from the Spanish trade barriers at home and the wish to strike their enemy in the weakest spot, more than an actual interest in the islands as such, captured Curaçao. They also took over Aruba and expelled the 73 inhabitants found there to mainland South America (van Heekeren 1960:103). It is not clear whether these were Whites or Indians. In discussing this period, Hartog speaks in terms of the Spaniards leaving the mainland with their slaves. Tacoma implies there were free and slave Indians on the island when he states, "The Spaniards on Aruba gradually withdrew taking their Indian slaves with them, and the remaining Indians on Aruba retreated to Venezuela" (1959:95). However, regardless of their race, the island again was essentially depopulated.

The Dutch Administration

The European policies were to have their effect on island affairs. During those days in Holland, there was essentially no sharp distinction between public and civil law. Often public affairs, especially those involving colonial matters, were handled by private companies (Hermans 1958: 54-55). Therefore the administration of these newly acquired islands including Aruba fell to the Dutch West India Company.

The governor and chief magistrates of each colony were appointed by the 19 member board of the West India Company and had free reign except in matters of war. In the latter event, their decisions were reviewed by the chief governmental bodies of the Federal Republics (Hermans 1958:55). Hermans points out that problems developed in the relationship

of the islands to the metropolitan area due to a conflicting dual conception of administration. In one sense they were treated as dependencies and in another as settlements, but this would appear to be true of all colonial situations.

Aruba, together with Bonaire, was considered part of the Curaçao Islands. Their governors were subordinate to the director of Curaçao and in fact they were later called commanders. At first there was only the commander; later, with an influx of settlers, a small council was formed to aid in the administration.

Although the West India Company did not permit settlement of Whites until 1754 when Mozes Maduro, of Portuguese Jewish derivation, gained permission, new Indians from west of Maracaibo came to Aruba after 1636 to work as horsemen. At that time Aruba served as a supply depot during the Dutch-Spanish skirmishes but this function ceased after 1648.

In the mid-1700's Aruba was generally considered useless by the rest of the world. Only a few governmental officials and employees of the West India Company were in residence, giving the appearance in some circles of being an uninhabited island (Hartog 1960:71). This was apparently felt to be an advantage by West India Company officials. Although one dignitary repeatedly issued licenses for settlement of private persons from 1768 to 1772, for a short period thereafter no further requests were granted. It should be noted that the settlers were there primarily as leaseholders and concessionaires without property rights per se. Hartog (1960:70-71) points out that the ". . . feudal character of ground tenures on Aruba was strongly marked well into the 19th Century." In 1780, however, a land tax became effective with resulting easing of the

settlement problem. Thereafter, considerably more European settlers of various nationalities, mainly Dutch and English, arrived. They always came via Curaçao or Bonaire. During this period the foundations for the Aruban "Creole" or first families began. Officials began to stay on even after retirement, and thus a nucleus was formed.

Perhaps the above events reflected the changes in the West India Company at the time. After reorganization in 1675, a new smaller company emerged which later required government subsidies and ". . . lingered on until 1791 when its last concession expired . . ." (Hermans 1958:56), thus ending the period when the colonies were administered by private companies. Thereafter they were directly administered by the government.

After the collapse of the French Empire, the Dutch Republic which had been temporarily incorporated became free. However, this situation and anterior changes resulted in a shift from the republic status with its provincialism to that of kingdom, with a subsequent shift over the years from the ". . . idea of provincial autonomy to that of parliamentary democracy" (Hermans 1958:57). The constitutional reform of 1848 reflected the idea of those in the colonies as Dutch citizens in addition to the fact that the islands were "overseas possessions". After this reform a new colonial council consisting of an executive section of five members or government council, together with a legislative section of eight members was brought in, reflecting the current political feelings and also the particular circumstances in the islands. For example, Surinam and Holland were able to have elections, but as there was no general suffrage -- even in Holland voting was based on property qualifications -- there were few to qualify in this category in Curaçao or the Antilles generally where facilities

were even more lacking. Therefore, nomination of the members of the area-parliament was by the governor who was representative of and responsible to the king, who in turn was powerless without the cooperation of the cabinet ministers, themselves responsible to the central parliament. As a result the government administration gradually fell into the hands of many of the local people, descendants of merchants many of whom were Portuguese Jewish, especially in Curaçao, traders, retired captains, and West India officials.

Aruba fell under English rule twice -- from 1800 to 1803, and from 1807 to 1816 -- but records covering this period are few.

Religion

Catholicism accompanied the Spanish reign, of course. During the early days circuit Franciscan priests apparently visited the islands periodically from their Venezuelan base. However, in 1634, when the West India Company began their administration, one priest was apparently in residence. Organized religion was then forbidden. According to Hochstuhl, a mission was established in 1704 (N.D:30); he does not give the sources for this information. However, Hartog and Nooyen, the latter a priest, do not record these data at all. Both report priests making yearly visits to administer the sacrament and preach (Hartog 1960:77; Nooyen 1965:29-31), and Hartog (1960:80-81) reports the smuggling in of a Venezuelan priest for certain ceremonies in 1727. It seems that religious activities must have become more frequent during the last of the 1740's, for the first religious building was erected in 1750 or 1752, there being some confusion in the documents. Even then there was no

priest in actual residence until 1819, and he died in 1820 leaving the island without clergy. This did not keep the people from being interested in religious services, as impetus for the construction of churches came from the populace itself. The situation was relieved from time to time by clergymen from Venezuela and those from Curaçao. During later years many of the Spanish priests were refugees from the wars of independence. In spite of the tremendous need and the requests, the Dutch Government forbade Spanish clerics working in the parishes. However, special consideration was given seven priests provided they would swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown and the colonial government, and later permission was granted to hire one Venezuelan, Father Romero, as a missionary, the last priest of Spanish derivation to serve Aruba.

Although there were Protestants on the island -- the 1816 figures list 290 of which 211 were White, and also 19 Jews -- the first minister reportedly visited the island in 1823 (Hartog 1960:116). The rites of baptism and marriage were performed during trips to Curaçao, or sometimes by the local Catholic priest. Afterwards there are records of the Protestant ministers performing such services for the parish priests.

During the time Father Romero worked on the island, friction developed between him and the Protestant teacher-minister, van Drogt. Perhaps this was the beginning of Protestant-Catholic friction on Aruba. The island historian, Dr. Hartog, denies that there was a "Protestant-Catholic antithesis" due to the fact that:

> Aruba acquired a Protestant as well as a Roman Catholic elite, a society closely interknit owing to the peculiar practice in case of religiously mixed marriages of educating the sons in accordance with the father's religion and the daughters in consonance with that of the mother. As a result of this there can be no question at all here of a Protestant-Catholic antithesis (1960:269).

However, he later states that in 1851 a Crosier priest came to the island preaching the differences between Protestants and Catholics and was replaced. Hartog (1960:274) pointed out that while Spanish clergy administered to the parishes there was no problem of this kind. "Now they arise, not because the Dutch priests or ministers were less diplomatic, but because of their not being attuned to feelings that had perforce developed under pressure of the attractive cultural ambience on the Continent." In fact it would seem that the Dutch clergy were simply attempting to transfer sentiments that had formed a core of Netherlands attitudes since the time of the reformation. Later Hartog (1960:289) admits there was conflict in approximately 1860 which steadily increased until 1879 when a chapel was burned.

Ministers from Curaçao had visited the island periodically; nevertheless, the first regular minister was appointed in 1858. At this point the Curaçaleñan congregation turned over their welfare operations directly to the Aruban Protestants, although continuation of reports to the Curaçao group was requested in order that these be included for central government benefits.

In 1881 there are reports that Catholics were becoming godparents to Protestants (Hartog 1960:280), who (1960:270) also points to a liberal tendency in Catholicism and Protestantism resulting from "the Voltarian-Cartesian Spanish (and French) Catholicism", and the spirit of French enlightenment. However, this might also have been influenced by an independent spirit due to the fact that the natives had not been trained to obedience of thought by education, strict religious or governmental

systems. There are also chances that the immigrants would have had to be a bit more independent to be inspired to start anew in such an isolated area.

The earliest priests in Aruba had been Franciscans. Later, due to the dire needs, a variety of clergy came to work on the island, both secular and those of other orders. However, in 1870 the Dominicans were in charge.

Education

The first school was reportedly started in 1822 by a Protestant minister. This situation is hard to understand in view of Hartog's reporting that the first regular minister arrived in 1858. However, there is no explanation available in the literature. By 1824 the school, which had Dutch instruction, had only 31 pupils. In 1826 Catholic education began in the Spanish language. The Dutch priests who arrived in 1851 continued the instruction in Spanish, as this language was felt to be more practical for the island and raised the educational standards. In 1861 permission was granted for Protestants to attend this Catholic school. In 1857 Franciscan nuns of Roosendal arrived to take charge of education. There was communication between the two religious groups as both Catholics and Protestants were members of the government school board in 1849 (Hartog 1960:293).

The number of pupils increased steadily. Hartog (1960:297) feels some of this increase was due to the emancipation of slaves in 1863.

Economy

As stated earlier, Aruba was considered a "useless island" during the early part of its history. This has primarily been due to the fact that it has a tropical steppe climate situated in an area inclined to drought. Ochse (1958:74) reported "The water famine of Leewards prohibits agriculture of any significance. A solution could be found in preventing the small quantity of rain water from flowing down to the sea." As a result, attempts at agriculture have primarily been marginal. During the earliest historical period wood was an important resource; however, it may be possible that depletion of the limited forested areas could have caused more climatic problems by lessening the possibilities of rainfall.

Under the Dutch administration, use of the island for horse-breeding and maintenance of a supply depot occurred for a limited time. Over the years various schemes were tried to lift and to keep the economy alive. Although there are indications that the West India Company was aware of the presence of metallic ores in Aruba in 1725, the actual discovery of gold took place in 1825 accidentally. There is evidence that the mining process was never easy, for even in the early years, 1826-27, losses were incurred as a result of prospecting. There was a period of vacillation between free mining and granting of concessions. Some of these companies, as for example, the Aruba Gold Concessions, operated with losses in the late 1890's (Hartog 1960:146; Nooyen 1965). However, the activity provided some measure of work for the islanders.

It seems that the presence of phosphate was also known prior to 1874; however, exploitation began only after that. The mining was

lucrative but suffered when the material was found in North Africa and the United States in 1893. Even this did not eliminate phosphate mining as the principal source of income for the island at the time. During this period Sint Nicolaas, the second town, had its birth as a true village. Also at the time, the Aruba Phosphaat Maatschappij had to originate its own money for general circulation as there was a shortage on the island (Hartog 1960:151).

Other projects were started over the years: in 1800 a scheme for cattle raising; in approximately 1837 cochineal rearing for carmine dyes started, but this was on the way out by 1857. The pods of the divi-divi tree, high in tannin, were sold to European markets through Curaçao. In addition the aloe, producing aloin, was introduced in approximately 1840 and became an important commodity. The climate was such that the aloin content was relatively high. The cultivation was rather successful; however, prices began to fall in the 1890's.

Introduction of schemes for producing tobacco, cashews, cotton, and wool were never successful. Crops such as beans and maize were grown for private consumption primarily. The farmers developed the habit of sowing in two fields, a sand plot and a plot of richer soil as a precaution against the vagrancies of nature. Agricultural endeavors were frequently precarious on Aruba. In the 1800's droughts and famine-like conditions were listed from 1820 to 1825, in 1858, 1863 and 1869, and from 1897 to 1900. Apparently the difficulties inherent in farming, plus the sporadic work in the mines, caused people to turn from the soil, with the result that it is said the population had ". . . entirely lost the habit of doing agricultural work" (Hartog 1960:226).

Goats were of some importance in the economy of the island through the collection of goat dung for export, and it is reported hides were used in payment of taxes in earlier years. Although fishing near the island was abundant, there was apparently no organized fishing industry due to lack of storage facilities. Weaving of hats was a common practice, as in times of drought hats could be exchanged for food. This weaving was dependent upon imported straw.

The sketch of the economy outlined above indicates that it would scarcely be one to provide a solid basis for the institution of slavery, and actually there were few slaves on the island. However, the interesting point is that in such an impoverished situation both Indian and African slaves were present, possibly pointing to the importance of lip-service to this institution for maintenance of social position. Indian slaves, or "wild Indians", some evidently smuggled into Aruba illegally, were on the increase during the first part of the nineteenth century and were reported different in build and appearance from the other Aruban Indians. Persons of African descent were not on Aruba until after 1758. With the advent of more private settlement, African slaves appeared and their numbers increased with the installation of the few cochineal and aloe plantations. As early as 1761, 1789, and 1791, regulations were instituted for the welfare of the slaves, with stipulations as to their workweek and weekly food rations. Some of their occupational classifications were herdsmen, garden slaves, domestics, and craftsmen. There were government as well as private slaves. Evidently slaves were used as a basis for setting property taxes. It is interesting that:

> From 1815 onwards the District Council had the supervision of manumission in order to be able to prevent unusable slaves being set free and thus left unprovided for. This body also saw to it that the cost connected with manumission did not rise so high as to make the liberation of the slaves almost impossible (Hartog 1960:219).

During the period between 1849 and 1857 there was a decrease in the number of slaves. In 1862, fifteen percent of the population was slave. Father Nooyen (1965:35), using religious and other documents, recognizes that the Dutch Government and the laws forbade Indian slavery, but the practice was otherwise. He claims about half of the Aruban slaves were Indian and the other half were African: "Anto mas of menos mitar di catibunan na Aruba tabata indian, otro mitar tabata africano" (1965:35). /Although more or less half of the slaves in Aruba were Indian the other half were African./ He distinguishes between the two in his statistical breakdown. Although there is some problem due to an apparent printing error, his basic numbers were repeated in several places and may be utilized. In 1820, there were (Nooyen 1965:32-35):

Total		Slaves
159	Blanken (White)	
1510	Gecouleurden (Indian)	157
208	Swarten (Black)	174
1877		331

In 1840, of 497 slaves 269 were Indians, referred to as "hende di color", to 228 Blacks. That year 77 free Blacks were born in Aruba and there were 225 free Black foreigners on the island also (Nooyen 1965 : 35).

Hartog (1960:219) reports an increase of fifty percent of colored persons on Aruba between 1816 and 1830; however, the meaning of "colored" here presents a problem. Evidently during the 1830's Indians, Whites and

Negro-slaves

> . . . even intermarried, but invariably only for a month or a year, though there are instances where the marriage-contract has been preserved inviolate for a lifetime. This made them [i.e., the Indians] gradually forget their original language, and caused them to adopt that of the White inhabitants who spoke the Curaçao idiom (Hartog 1960:217).

Would the children of such unions be "colored"? Nooyen (1965:35) reports that the "Staat van Bevolking", i.e., state of the people of 1820, reports 157 ". . . hende di color (esta: indian) . . ." On a preceding page he refers to these same people as ". . . Indianan ('gecouleurden')". He notes that possibly some of the Indians of the Guajira in Venezuela living in Aruba were not listed as slaves when collecting the statistics, due to the legal regulations against their enslavement. "Colored" then, after Nooyen, will be assumed to include Indians.

Numerous authors have indicated that although tales of cruelty exist, Arubans more than other islanders treated slaves so that it was difficult in some instances to distinguish between them and free persons. Records show that although it was forbidden legally, priests frequently married slave couples in secret, which according to Nooyen (1965:38-39) allows one to assume that although their families were not legitimate by government view, the Aruba slave family lived a fairly regular life.

For these reasons, Nooyen feels that after emancipation these people continued to live much as they did before in terms of residence and family with few new problems. The baptismal books seem to indicate a continuation of the same types of familial relationships that existed earlier between slaves and their masters. After emancipation in 1863, frequent intermarriage between those of slave background and freemen, and

also slave owners, made it difficult for some families to speak of their old social or civil position. "After the year 1863 all the families which before had been slaves and free people and owners of slaves had mixed and continued to mix with each other by means of marriage, so that actually a family could say nothing regarding their past social or civil status" (Nooyen 1965:42 translation).

It seems this attitude of the slaves and freemen towards each other may have been the result of a very realistic situation. Factors which may have combined to keep down a feeling of one-group persecution were (a) the limited number of slaves on the island; (b) the poverty of the island (Hoetink 1961); (c) frequent periods of economic distress; (d) the fact that the gap between the free and the slaves could not have been tremendous; (e) the lateness of arrival of African slaves; (f) the fact that there were both Negro and Indian slaves; plus (g) the harsh treatment of some of the Indians on the mainland. This addition of a broader perspective might have given more of a generally economic consideration to the problem rather than a specifically racial tinge as in Curacao, other Caribbean Islands, and the United States.

Nooyen claims the economy around the year 1800 when the population was roughly 1,000 was based on cunucu, the Papiamentu word for country. Cunucu will be considered to mean farming, commerce and navigation. It seems that since the earliest times the Aruban Indians had maintained lively trade with buccaneers for various items and in addition to regular trade active commerce was carried on with the Indians of the Goajira for Curacalenan businesses. Difficulties developed in this area when the Government of Colombia imposed duties on ships coming into Colombian

ports. The problems relative to small Aruban vessels were solved by negotiations between the two governments and this commerce continued. When this type of trade began to wane during later years, increasing numbers of men began to seek work in other countries. This movement out was prevalent during the 19th century; it was temporarily interrupted by the gold and phosphate booms (Hartog 1960:229). The migrants would sometimes leave only for months during the dry season. They were drawn to the coffee plantations of Venezuela, to work for the United Fruit Company in Santa Marta, Colombia, and even to the United States.

1900 to 1954

Economy

In 1900 the Aruba Gold Concessions Company (called Aruban Agency Company by Nooyen) were operating. However, in 1907 it was reported that conditions were such that only small groups of local miners using the tribute system could profitably work the locality. In 1908 this company, operating at a loss, went out of business and the Aruba Gold Maatschappij with the first local backing came into existence. They were able to make ends meet as they had bought the previous company out cheaply; in addition, they paid not by the day but by weight of gold received at the office (Nooyen 1965:88). During the period of World War I there were difficulties in obtaining parts and other materials. Exportation therefore ceased after 1916. A later attempt to reopen the mines was unsuccessful.

The international affairs of these years had the effect of stopping phosphate operations as well as those of the gold industry, as the principal markets were in Europe and the United States. During this

time the aloe operations reached the peak but international price fluctuations and higher wages paid by oil refineries caused a decrease in aloe production. In 1916, a dairy cooperative was started with the assistance of some Catholic clergy. The butter and cheese was to be sold in Curaçao, but the first cargo met with an accident which resulted in a general financial loss. There were some Arubans working as carpenters, and hats continued to be woven.

The economic salvation came in the form of oil refineries which were located on Aruba, affording easy access to the Venezuelan oil which could be refined and shipped to world markets. Two oil companies began operations in Aruba during the late 1920's. The smaller of the two was the Eagle Petroleum Company Incorporated, a subsidiary of Royal Shell. The other, Lago Oil and Transport Company, which later affiliated with Standard Oil, was the more important in terms of the development of the island economy. The presence of both companies, and especially the latter, necessitated the building of quarters, improving of harbors, and employment of varied types of staff. In addition, auxiliary services sprang up to meet the needs of employees.

Lago was situated in Sint Nicolaas which had been elevated to village status by the earlier presence of the phosphate concessions. There were no facilities, that is, restaurants, homes, churches, medical services buildings, to serve for actual operations or for employee needs. As a result, a shanty-town developed near the refinery typical of boom or frontier towns. Later, homes were built for the families of staff and employees. The first group of 150 homes was built in 1937; afterward other "villes" as "Essoville" and "Lagoville" developed starting

with 75 and 67 bungalows, respectively. By the early 1950's, 458 homes had been built (Hartog 1960:313). As one informant stated, Lago was given the concession with the agreement that they would ask the Dutch Government for "nothing"; therefore they had to provide their own medical care, training facilities, recreation, and, in terms of management personnel, schools for the children.

The refinery grew, with a few slack periods, to the point where 5,747 individuals were employed in 1945. At the peak in 1949, 8,300 were employed and one billion barrels of oil had been processed. By 1952 the second billionth barrel was refined, and the number employed stood at 7,383. Lago became a primary source for fuel during World War II and later developed to the point where 440,000 barrels were refined per day. In order to operate on such a scale employees, both management and labor, had to be recruited from outside. Workers came both by contract and on their own accord. Some immigrants came to serve the workers, to set up small shops, to work as tailors, to serve as domestic help. As the scope of the operations was so large, varying skills were needed. For example, at one time both Lago and Eagle operated their own transportation services, which called for navigators and specialized crews.

The Eagle refinery suspended operations during the war years and again in 1952, although use of their storage space continued.

Prior to the establishment of the oil companies, donkeys were a common means of transportation. Thereafter the auto came into vogue with consequent road improvement. Older immigrants and native Arubans speak of the early days of the refinery as days when there was "nothing" in the Sint Nicolaas area. Workers who came in the early 1930's complained of

the scarcity of water and it was stated at the time of building of Lago ". . . there was neither water or food . . ." (Hartog 1960:313). Many children walked to Savaneta, the old island capital, to attend school. Others spent the night with friends or relatives and returned to their homes on the weekends. Trips were made to the capital, Oranjestad, and other localities by mule. However, there was boat transportation from Savaneta to the stad. Informants spoke of the people working in the cunucu or farming by day and spending moonlight nights conversing and plaiting straw hats to sell to increase incomes. Eggs were traded for necessities and tinned foods at the small village stores. Water was caught in containers and carefully preserved. Of course life in the "stad", or the city (Oranjestad), was less austere than in the cunucu, even for the poor, if only from the point of being where there was a greater variety for their few cents, the elements of choice and more visual stimulation. This, then, was the situation when Lago was first established with the result that over the years former agricultural workers with a wait-until-tomorrow attitude became trained to the demands of shift work.

During the later years there was the rise of labor unions at Lago, with a resulting major strike in 1951, after which some of the non-Antillean labor leaders were deported. For some time there was a company union. Later this arrangement became unsatisfactory for many of the employees and a separate union was formed after some agitation. The union and management agreed that the retrenchment policy would be on the basis of retaining the native born Aruban if two employees were equally qualified and one had to be released. Individuals married to native Arubans,

Antilleans, other Netherlanders as Surinamers and those from Europe, and foreigners in general were subsequently ranked in terms of potential lay-off, with Antilleans high on the list for retainment, with other Dutch citizens following, and foreigners last.

Education

The caliber of schools improved and enrollment increased during this period. In the early 1900's there was some problem of subsidy for denominational schools; however, in 1905 a more liberal interpretation came into effect and in addition, after 1907, discussion of God and religion were allowed.

Catholic education was transferred from Franciscan nuns in 1909 to Dominicans. In approximately 1915, members of the Tillburg Brothers, a teaching order, became responsible for the education of Catholic boys and from that point on there was separation of the sexes in Catholic education. In 1903 school attendance totaled 793 and was distributed between one government school and three Catholic schools. A new group of Brothers started teaching in Sint Nicolaas and Oranjestad in 1937 in an effort to accommodate the pupil increase brought about by the presence of the refineries.

The Lago, in need of locally trained help, opened its own four-year vocational school in which local boys were able to obtain training and practical experience while earning some income.

The government school had an enrollment of 879 in 1947, while Catholic schools had 6,102 students. However, in 1952, with an increase in the number of children attending school, both native and non-native

Arubans, 2,053 were enrolled in the 13 government schools and 7,484 in the 21 Catholic schools. At that time there was also one Protestant denominational school.

During the last part of this period, more Arubans and Antilleans generally began to study abroad, both privately and on government scholarships.

In 1905 the first library was established, and the second was opened in 1943, both under the sponsorship of the Algemeen Nederlands Verband, which also arranged lectures and, together with other cultural groups, formed an art circle for stimulating, exhibiting, and presenting various artistic events.

Government

Although Hermans (1958:58 and 61) and Hochstuhl (N.D:34) write that elections for representatives in the councils came into effect in 1936, Hartog (1960:410), who lived on the island for many years, states that the members of the Aruban District Council were elected at an earlier date:

> The Local Councillors, i.e., the two members assisting the lieutenant-governor, who presided over this council in his official capacity, were elected in accordance with a very restricted census and capacity suffrage introduced in 1869. In the absence of data from which a list could be composed of those meeting the norms established by law, the District Council in office were wont each year to draw up from memory a list of those they considered capable of choosing wisely. This list subsequently was laid ready for the public to inspect; anyone feeling so inclined was allowed to make objections.

This statement also indicates the operation of a rather selective but basically democratic process. Nevertheless, there apparently was a relative lack of interest in politics until 1931. In that year a severe

drought occurred and Henny Eman, an island politician, began to include the distribution of food to the needy as part of his campaign. This interest was temporary for subsequently no votes were cast in 1936 during the election for District Council, nor for the selection of vacancies in 1938 (Hartog 1960:412).

The confusion in the minds of other writers perhaps resulted from the fact that 1937 was the first year in Aruba for elections of the legislature. The requirements for electors were now lowered to six years' elementary school and an annual income of 900 guilders. At that point, one political party was formed, the Roman Catholic. It has also been noted that authors such as Hermans (1958) appear to be describing Antillean history and affairs primarily in terms of the capital island of Curaçao. This, no doubt, results from the dearth of information on the other islands plus the fact that Curaçao was and continues to be the administration center.

A New Era

In 1942 Queen Wilhelmina, addressing the Dutch people from exile, promised a new partnership within the kingdom (Hermans 1958:62) which would consist of self governing parts. From 1946 through 1954, these discussions were under way. Various round table conferences were held, new regulations were made and revised. Those of 1949 and 1950 allowed for complete immediate internal self-government. Constitutional amendments were effected to allow for said changes, for instance that of 1952 describing the relations of the Netherlands, Surinam, and the Netherlands Antilles as equal partners.

By 1947 approximately 6,409 electors existed in Aruba. However, after the introduction of universal suffrage in 1948, the number of electors, 12,750, almost doubled. By 1950 there were several political parties such as the Union Nacional Arubana (the National Aruban Union), Una-Compa (One-Country Group), Partido Patriotica Arubano (Aruban Patriots Party), Arubaanse Volks Partij (Aruban Popular Party), Arubaanse Eenheidspartij (United Aruban Party).

During the period of the 1940's and throughout the early 1950's much of the attention of the island politicians was oriented toward gaining greater recognition and seats for Aruba in the central governing body located in Curaçao, and in plans for the eventual autonomy. In addition to strengthening their position in the central government, native Arubans were beginning to assert themselves in local elections.

In 1951, the local Aruban administrative body consisted of a lieutenant governor, no longer appointed by the governor in Curaçao, two to four deputies together forming the executive wing, plus an Island Council of 21 members elected every four years. Subsequently, various branches of services heretofore under federal supervision came under local auspices.

Although the island immigration authorities have generally been strict as far as their admittance of non-Dutch nationals to Aruba, the number of foreigners steadily increased because their presence was needed for various types of skilled and semi-skilled work on the island. Due to the earlier marginal economical situation and limited educational facilities, many of the Aruban population were able to fill only the lowest laboring jobs. In addition the Aruban was considered by some to be very

independent for there were some jobs he would refuse, as for example, garbage collector. During this period there were few Aruban teachers, the majority coming from the Netherlands or Surinam. Thus there was a definite need for foreign staff. This created a situation in which, in 1951, of 14,558 electors, 8,072 were born on Aruba; in 1955, of 16,480, 9,289 were Aruban-born (Hartog 1960:434). Some native politicians felt that in the future they might become a minority on their own island. As a result the Citizenship Law of 1910, which provided that children born on Aruba of non-Aruban parents received Dutch nationality by birth, was changed. The Law of 1949 (December 27) states: "Children of non-Aruban parents born after the above-mentioned date do not obtain Dutch nationality by birth." One native Aruban governmental official stated: "With non-Aruban parents, we mean; they do not possess the Dutch nationality. The Law of 1949 is still in effect." Later another measure was enacted:

> At the Island Council's meeting of 15th March 1952 a majority of 16 out of a total of 21 carried a motion purporting to give a permanent majority of seats to Arubans; these were supposed to be all persons born on the island, as well as those born outside Aruba of Aruban parents, provided they had Dutch nationality (Hartog 1960:425).

This was later modified to restrict the number of non-Arubans to one-third.

1954 to Date

Government

In regard to political parties Hermans wrote that, "The partition lines between the various parties operating in the Netherlands Antilles . . . follow quite another pattern than the partition lines between political parties in the mother country (1958:71). He felt there were no

"Conservative, Liberal, Communist types," nor did they ". . . run parallel to colour lines . . .", not that these are not important elements but the islanders are

> . . . influenced by quite other elements such as the difference between town and country, the presence of strong groups of Dutchmen and of people from Surinam, 2nd . . . elements of personal leadership which make it hard to define exactly the differences between political platforms (Hermans 1958:71).

In Aruba during this period there has been the birth of a growing nationalist feeling. The idea of Aruba for the Arubans is dominant. This feeling was stimulated by the retrenchment of the Lago refinery due to automation. Whereas approximately 8,300 persons were employed in 1949 (Aruba Department of Economic Development 1966:9), in 1967 the number had gradually decreased to approximately 1,700. In an area where there has been such a poor economic history in the past and such limited natural resources, decrease in employment opportunities can be doubly serious. This fact, together with the presence of thousands of non-Aruban laborers many of whom have been residents for 20 or 30 years, own their homes on the island, have reared their children in Aruba and generally think of the island as home, has created a difficult situation. This is, of course, reflected in island politics. The party in power during recent years, the P.P.A., was felt by some to be "the foreigners'" party. It consisted naturally of native Arubans, but also a majority of the non-natives with Dutch rights. In May of 1967, the A.V.P., the "Aruba for the Arubans" party, won the elections and for the first time an all-native Aruban administration was in power. Some of the P.P.A. supporters were bitter, of course, stating it came about through a coalition. They also felt that many of the A.V.P. were primarily inexperienced

as politicians and in government administration, whereas members of the P.P.A. were veteran and more sophisticated politicians who had operated on a more broadly Antillean base.

In 1954 the Aruban Island Council showed some interest in becoming an independent territory within the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Within the past year, these murmurs were again heard due in part to a continued feeling of resentment against the Central Curaçao Government in the handling of Aruban affairs, and to the fact that the Windward Islands and Bonaire, other equal partners in the Antilles, are rather limited financially due to their relative lack of income.

Economy

The automation of Lago and the reduction of employees over the years had an enormous effect on the socio-economic life of the island. This effect far exceeded the circle of immediate employees. Businesses, restaurants, small shops, those enterprises which were geared to serving the Lago and its employees, were also affected. The statistics of 1953 show 57,303 inhabitants; however, by 1955 there had been a drop to 55,483. There were 58,743 inhabitants in 1960 according to the civil registry; however, the census figures for that year indicate 53,199. In 1960, Hawley, in the report based on the 1960 census, points out that an important fact in considering the figures is the constant "in and out migration."

At the time Lago was retrenching, concerted efforts were being made to interest other industry in locating on Aruba. Consequently, the island was opened for tourism. Prior to 1955, primarily freighters docked at the Oranjestad harbor; however, in that year the first tourist

ship visited Aruba, paving the way for others. In 1957, a second large hotel was built, to be followed in 1959 by a truly luxury establishment, the Aruba Caribbean Hotel Casino, which increased the number of staying guests on the island. Another deluxe establishment, the Aruba Sheraton, was opened in 1968 and plans were under way for the establishment of a Holiday Inn.

In order to meet the needs of Arubans and new industries, the airport was expanded to accommodate jet service and in 1960 a new water and electric plant was completed. Three years later the chemical plants of the Antilles Chemical Company, an affiliate of Standard Oil of New Jersey, and the Aruba Chemical Industries N.V. were in operation, specializing in the production of ammonia, nitric acid, fertilizer, and urea.

However, in spite of these endeavors, large portions of the population remain unemployed because thus far these are small concerns unable to absorb the masses formerly employed by Lago and the additional new crop of young people ready to enter the job market each year.

The changes in the island have indeed been enormous through the last years, without major social disorganization. Miles of paved roads allow easy access to all parts of the island in short time. Transportation facilities are better than those of many small towns in the United States. There is bus service of two types in addition to taxis. Only infrequently does one see a farmer riding on a donkey. The island crawls with sheep and goats, especially the latter. If one stops at the less urban spots of the island, elderly ladies -- their skin wrinkled by the sun, the wind, and probably Javon Bleu (a local laundry soap) -- may be seen. A number of these elderly Aruban women smoke their cigarettes

with the fire inside the mouth and keep their heads tied with huge white and black scarves. Most communities of any size boast a theatre where the latest movies of the United States, Europe, Mexico, Latin America and even Japan are shown. There is a television station with programs from the United States, Venezuela and Holland, in addition to several radio stations where programs may be heard in Dutch, Spanish, Papiamentu, and English. In the past most of the less well educated native Arubans who were mainly confined to Papiamentu and Spanish now may understand and use all four main languages with varying efficiency.

During this later period an increasing number of students went abroad for higher education, primarily to Holland, but also to the United States and Latin America for various specialities. Their studies were frequently financed at least in part by Lago or government scholarships and some used private funds. As a result many Arubans are now prepared to assume responsible positions on their island. Although most of the secondary school teachers are still Dutch or of Surinam extraction, the bulk of the primary school teachers are now Arubans, or at least Antilleans with a large percentage of Arubans.

A teachers college has been opened in Aruba during the last few years. This generally means that the facilities would be within the reach of a greater number of potentially able students who might not have been able to go to Holland, even though the Antillean guilder has twice the exchange rate as that of the Netherlands.

Medical services and facilities have improved greatly over the years, although special cases still must be flown to Curaçao, Holland, or the United States and many of the islanders of all income brackets

make frequent trips to Colombia where they feel medical education is more varied, the field more competitive, and the exchange is in favor of the Antillean guilder.

Summary

Aruba has always been closely tied to the mainland not only in a physical sense but also culturally. It has been indicated that even in pre-Columbian times, cultural influences were absorbed from varying sources. During the period of Dutch administration of the island, settlement was restricted to a few Dutch West India officials and Venezuelan Indians working as vaqueros. When the settlement was opened to others, one of the first individuals to obtain a license was Mozes Maduro of Portuguese Jewish descent. Subsequently a number of Europeans arrived from varying parts of Europe, but principally from Holland and England. Many primary contacts continued with the Spanish speaking mainland so that by the early 1900's familiarity with the Spanish language was much more common than with the Dutch. Important is the fact that present Aruban culture is of relatively late crystallization, with the initial fusion taking place in the late 1700's. This new culture continued to receive influences from a variety of sources both in the past and within the last 40 years by the great influx of foreign workers.

This brief review of the history of the island clearly shows the influence of international affairs and world markets on the local economy. Not only did the gold and phosphate economy suffer during the period surrounding World War II, but also aloe production suffered from international price fluctuations. Conversely, during World War II, the Lago

refinery served as an important supplier of allied materials while the smaller refinery temporarily ceased operation.

The available historical accounts lack references to any notable presence of voluntary associations prior to the establishment of the refinery. In view of the rather random pattern of migration noted for both the Indians and the Europeans settling on Aruba, the general sparcity of the population, and the rather difficult economic situation, it is suggested that kin-based groups and the Church were probably effective in serving the major needs of the population before the early 1930's.

CHAPTER 3

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ETHNIC GROUPS AND THEIR VARIATIONS

There have always been "outsiders" on Aruba and this was possibly the case even in prehistoric times. The period between the Spanish withdrawal to the mainland and the actual settlement by the West India Company in 1636 was one of brief depopulation. When the horsebreeding started, "new" Indians from west of Maracaibo came in. These workers held plots of land under the West India Company and eventually even held "red" slaves stolen from the mainland. Hartog makes a point of saying they never held "coloured" people in their service as slaves. We assume that in approximately 1760, slaves of African descent were introduced as the first slave regulations appear about that time, and it was technically forbidden to enslave the Indians. However, Father Nooyen claims it was in 1776 when the names of African slaves appeared in the religious archives. This would be approximately the same time that White settlers were beginning to drift in. After 1780 it was easier to obtain a license for settlement and the flow of White settlers was heavier. They reportedly varied as to nationality. There were many Dutch and English settlers, but also persons from Belgium, Germany, Italy, and France.

The oldest population figures for the island, for 1806, indicate that of the 1,546 inhabitants, 1,352 were freemen, 194 slaves; 753 were men, 793 women; 1,221 were Catholics, 308 Calvinists (Reformed Church),

eight Lutherans, and nine Jews (Hartog 1960:117). Thereafter the statistics of 1816 show 1,732 persons (Hartog 1960:122):

Dutch	4	
Native Whites	187	
White foreigners	20	
Real Indians	564	
Coloured freemen	584	
Black freemen	37	1,396-Free and White Persons
Coloured slaves	133	
Black slaves	203	336
Sum Total		1,732

There is a noticeable change in the categories of the population figures from 1816 to 1833. In 1816 there are the categories "real Indians" followed by "coloured" which seemingly goes undefined by Hartog but which, if "people of color" would be equated with "colored", translates as Indian according to Nooyen. It should be pointed out that apparently the Dutch color scale differed from that used by the Spaniards in other areas. For example, among the Dutch an offspring of a White and a Mulatto (i.e., offspring of a White person and a Negro) is a Mestizo (Hartog 1960:110).

In 1833 the population figure was 2,746 (Hartog 1960:242) with

White	465
Free coloured	1,817
Free Blacks	71
Slaves	393

It is now seen that the category of "Indian" has thus disappeared altogether. However, since the majority figures are for the free colored, it is assumed that "coloured" contains Indian offspring. At that point 419 White and Colored persons were Protestants, while 2,296 including Blacks were Catholic and 31 were Jewish. Shortly before emancipation,

the 1862 census showed 2,802 free persons and 456 slaves (per Hartog), while Nooyen lists the figures as 272 free and 486 slaves; however, when totaled, the figures of both agree.

The presence of many mainland refugees in Aruba during the revolutions of the 1800's had an important effect upon the Aruban population. Many of the refugees were of the higher classes with more education and an intellectual outlook. It should be borne in mind that Aruba was more closely linked geographically with South America than with its sister islands, Bonaire and Curaçao, to say nothing of the Windward Islands. Transportation was much easier to the mainland than to the nearby islands. Arubans spoke Spanish and/or a Spanish-based language, Papiamentu, and few knew anything of Dutch, their official language. In addition, due to the geographical proximity and the constant contacts, friendships and even family ties developed between the two areas.

As early as 1880, laborers were brought to Aruba. The English mine officials contracted 27 Italians from Tuscany for a year, after which the majority returned to Italy. A few, however, stayed on to marry Aruban girls. It seems almost all of these Italians were foremen in the mines (Nooyen 1965:88). The aforementioned groups all contributed to what is now considered the native Aruban population.

In 1923 a number of Jewish persons from Amsterdam settled on the island and later these were joined by Eastern Europeans who have continued in residence to date, although their numbers have diminished in recent years.

It was after the establishment of the Lago refinery that large groups of foreigners started to come and stay on Aruba to the extent that

in 1951 of 56,000 inhabitants, 28,000 were not born on the island. Dutch subjects numbered 11,500, the remaining 17,000 were of other nationalities (Hartog 1960:369). The man on the street will say with pride that people from 44 different countries lived and worked on Aruba when Lago was at its peak. In 1952 the foreigners were from 40 nations, not counting the many divisions among the Dutch (Antillean, Surinamer, Indonesian, and the Netherlands proper), or among the British (Great Britain, Northern Ireland, Scotland, and the Caribbean Islands of Trinidad, St. Kitts, Nevis and others). In 1948 (Hartog 1960:369-370), those non-Dutch residents in descending order according to the number over 60 were

English and British subjects	9,442
Venezuelan	2,505
United States citizens	2,191
French	794
Colombian	578
Dominican	529
Chinese	271
Portuguese (Madeira)	139
Polish	73
Haitians	65

The following are brief descriptions of the more important ethnic groups present on Aruba.

Dutch Subjects

Antilleans

The native inhabitants of six islands, the Windwards including Sint Maarten, Saba, St. Eustatius, and the "ABC's", i.e., Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, comprise the Antilleans.

The "ABC's" are the three Dutch Leeward Islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, similar in language and located off the coast of South America. However, Aruba has been the island which, even from prehistoric

times, has had the most contact with the mainland of South America due to the ease of navigation between the two points versus the difficulty of sailing between Aruba and the other islands in earlier years.

Arubans. As stated in Chapter 2, Aruba (Figure 2) had a comparatively large Indian population, and Indian genes together with the European and to a lesser degree the African make up a pool from which various phenotypes similar to those in Latin countries, such as Mexico and Colombia, are produced. Both foreigners and native Arubans will describe the Aruban as shy and retiring, family oriented -- in fact family dependent, generally passive, and as one who minds his own business. Many informants mentioned the fact that when foreigners first came to the island en masse and approached Aruban homes in outlying areas the local people would hide, especially the women, and would draw their scarves around their faces. The native Aruban informants claim that the older Aruban is very concerned about losing face, which may cause him to remain in the background in work and educational situations in which he may feel not quite prepared. Non-Arubans constantly say, "When the Aruban drinks, then he tells you his true opinion, whether it is positive or negative." The above statements were repeated constantly during the interviews, forming a consistent pattern.

During the early days there was a big difference between the poor and the rich, and those of cunucu versus the stad or town. This difference continues today, but the gap is not so wide as before. Due to the former lack of local industry, the parents of many of the islanders have worked in other countries, especially Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, St. Eustatius, and Curaçao. A number of younger people have been abroad

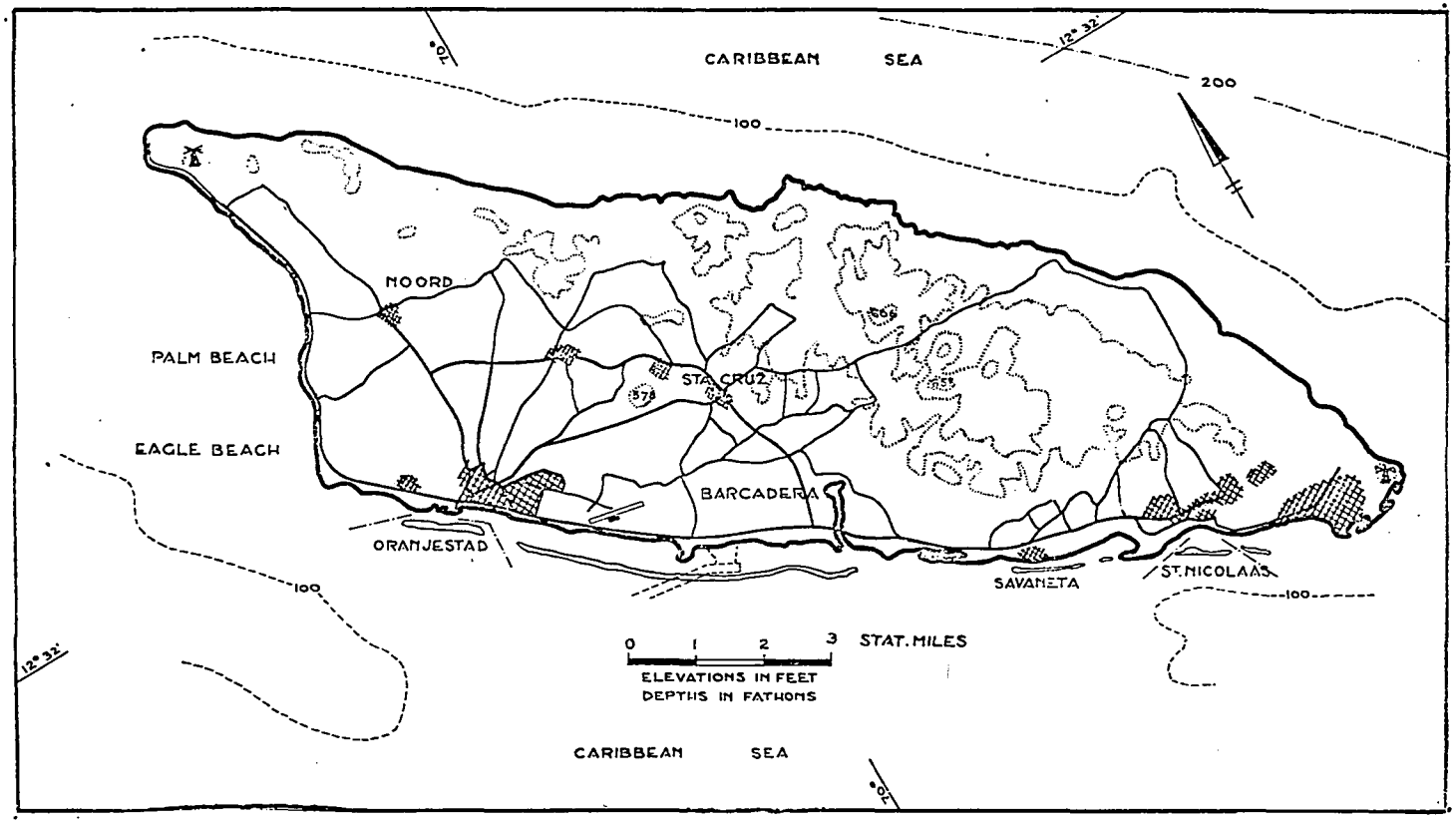

Figure 2. Map of Aruba.

Source: Aruba and Its Industries, Aruban Department of Economic Development (N.D.)

to school. Many authors and individuals feel the Arubans in the cunucu have never left their picturesque houses with the stone or cactus fences, but this is often not the case. They left but were transferred into other situations not much different from those at home. J. C. Mitchell (1966:44) has felt that changes in behavior as a result of ". . . participation in different social systems should be called 'situational' change . . ." This type of change can come about when a rural migrant has been functioning in an urban setting for some time and learns to operate effectively in the new environment with new institutions, for Mitchell (1966:43) states that urban institutions are not simply changed rural institutions. Under these circumstances many of the early Aruban migrants would not have undergone situational change. The majority went from one small scale society to another with no enlargement of the social fields. The writer proposes to use the term "situational selection" to describe the ability of individuals to function effectively in various rural and urban situations or to make effective shifts back and forth between the two.

In trying to describe themselves, many Arubans shrug their shoulders and ask, "But what is an Aruban anyway?" The Oranjestad and the Sint Nicolaas dwellers say one must go back into the cunucu to find the "real" Aruban. It must be remembered that both Aruban culture as well as the Papiamentu language are relatively new developments. The foundation was laid in the late 1700's incorporating the Indian population from west of Maracaibo, subsequent "wild Indians" who were enslaved, European settlers of various backgrounds with the Dutch predominating, with the final addition of Africans coming presumably from varied

cultural backgrounds as did the Europeans. No information is apparently available on the types of Europeans who settled on Aruba. Not too many were sent for penal reasons.

In the recent past there appear to have been several "shades," if not actually varieties, of "real" Aruban culture: (1) that of the "Top-Ten", i.e., the old wealthy families with their connections with Holland, Curaçao and mainland South America; (2) that of the Oranjestad, or the "city" dwellers generally; (3) that of Savaneta which was formerly the island capital where the Europeans settled. As a result, the preponderance of European genes shows up very clearly in this area, and other Arubans accuse those of the area of having a superior attitude; (4) that of Santa Cruz and its environs, an area rich in aboriginal archaeological finds, which is considered one of the strongholds of the conservative "real" Aruban. Here one finds European, Mestizo, as well as a large number of Indian phenotypes. The area of Noord, also considered conservative, has Mestizo as well as Indian and Mulatto phenotypes. Earlier there were vocabulary variations as well as slight differences in dress and customs between some of the island communities, according to my informants from those areas. When the Santa Cruz girls were wearing elbow length sleeves, the Savaneta girls were wearing short sleeves. In the more isolated areas there were even strong feelings against outsiders, not necessarily non-Arubans, particularly against those potential suitors of the girls of the locality.

Couples tended to marry earlier in the past. It was the custom to build their homes close to that of either the bride's or the groom's parents. The home was built before the marriage, but in recent years

land has become more scarce and expensive. Also during those days the male relatives and friends of the groom helped with the construction, and now that type of cooperation becomes less frequent as there is less free time to volunteer, and as one informant stated, "Everyone wants pay." An effort is still made to locate quarters nearby because the ties to the parents, especially to the mother, are close.

However, with the coming of industrialization and employment in the stad and Sint Nicolaas, and the convenience of transportation, the former provincialism has begun to crumble. Families from Noord and Santa Cruz have moved to Sint Nicolaas to be closer to their places of employment. Young couples from the more provincial outlying areas have upset their relatives by moving to Playa (that is, Oranjestad).

An actual study of the Aruban or Antillean family life was outside the scope of this study, but there were several interesting aspects of the life of the people that were noted. Later research would serve to confirm, deny, or delimit the occurrences. An interesting feature of some Aruban homes is the dominant position of the mother with the father as "the head of the household" in such an exalted position that there is little communication between father and children after they reach a certain age until adulthood. In some instances the mother seems to act as a "filter". Communication goes through the mother to the father, or to the children, even between the children on certain subjects. One gets the idea that there is a feeling among this older generation that the children and the house are "for the mother". This observation would seem to hold for those reared in more rural areas and appears to hold less for those whose parents were reared in Playa or were better educated and well

off financially. There is also a difference in family relations between couples in the 30 year old age group living in the more urban areas and those over 45. This type of "matrifocality" appears to be distinct from that so frequently described in the literature on the West Indian family (Solien 1959, 1961; Otterbein 1967) which often refers to a woman who lives alone with her children, frequently illegitimate, or who has a visiting male friend as described by writers such as M. G. and R. T. Smith, Henriques, and others. In the native Aruban situation this is often not the case. There is a legal spouse and he is physically in the home in most instances, but his most active contributions are the fathering of the children, building and the physical maintenance of the home, and the contribution of his salary for their welfare. In fact the described actions are those of someone who is not continuously present, although he is usually physically on the scene. This pattern also applies to some of the Bonairians and Curaçaleñans, and to a lesser extent the Windward Islanders. It is possible that this reflects an effective adjustment of rural Antillean families to the economic situation prevalent between 1830 and 1930, when men and older boys were often off the island earning a living, either for short periods of time as in the case of some of the fishermen, or prolonged periods involving years. Numerous informants have stated that in the late 1920's and early 1930's one would rarely see males in their prime; there were mostly women, small children, and older men. Lampe mentioned the crowds -- almost all women -- who would jam the docks awaiting news of their relatives in the early 1920's (Hartog 1960:230). In this type of situation a responsible wife would care for most of the immediate problems, leaving the most

serious for solution by the husband, either by mail or through his presence on infrequent occasions, or perhaps by his mother, a dominant family force. Even with the coming of the prosperity of Lago and the introduction of shift work, there were two shifts, 4 to 11 and 11 to 7, during which a parent might not see much of his children. As stated earlier, younger families outside of the most isolated cunucu do not seem to have this intensely matrifocal family pattern.

The Aruban customs are an interesting blend of Dutch, American, and Latin patterns. The modified machismo complex seems to exist; males must be "Potente", and men are frequently found out carousing together. The Arubans are generally quiet, peaceful people; however, under the influence of alcohol, many become violent and during these occasions begin fights and arguments even with their best friends. There was some feeling among the informants that this pattern was mostly confined to those less educated and that the trend of younger men with more education was away from this pattern. This observation would have to be carefully checked against commitments to mental institutions, and referrals to the local Alcoholics Anonymous.

Another of their more Latin traits is the close chaperoning of women. Even now in the more conservative sections of the islands, parents accompany their daughters to the various dances, some of which continue until 3 A.M. However, this pattern may have afforded the mothers one of their few recreational outlets, for they not only watch all the activities at the dances, they are also able to chat with their friends who are also acting as chaperones. At one point it was felt that, once married, women were to remain within the home, devoting all

their attention to home and the family which was traditionally large; the rearing of a large number of children attested to her value and the potency of the husband. The latter, however, was able to go out whenever he pleased, incurring community displeasure only if he failed to take adequate financial care of his home and family. In addition, depending on where the couple lived, the bride was subject to the authority of her mother-in-law in general household matters. Medical personnel working in some child care centers report that some young mothers are unable to follow medical recommendations unless these meet with the approval of the mother-in-law.

Formerly some marriages in the more isolated areas were arranged by the parents, informants say by the mothers. Even now in the more modern homes parents have tremendous influence over the marital plans of their children, in part due to past customs and also due to the Dutch law which requires Dutch subjects under the age of 30 to have parental consent for marriage. There is a possibility of going into court to override the parental decision; however, informants say public opinion is generally against this as it is felt to be "denying" the parents. It is therefore becoming a practice for young couples in this position to go to Venezuela or Puerto Rico for marriage if they have proof of birth or other credentials. Mothers have been known to berate the parish priests for supplying these documents, even when those involved were over 25 years of age.

One of the definitely non-Latin traits, perhaps of recent development, is that men help with certain household chores, mopping, sweeping openly, and they frequently serve their guests at parties. Another is

the apparent absence of any shame over the exposure of the body. Men of all classes may work around their homes in shorts without necessarily feeling the need to put on a shirt in front of their immediate friends and neighbors. Women sweep off porches and yards in their shorty nightgowns. Also interesting is the frequency of washing on Sunday and doing other household chores, although the stores are all closed.

In the past some more conservative rural parents would take their daughters out of school at the time they reached puberty or shortly thereafter in a combined protective attitude and a feeling they had learned enough. Boys would sometimes leave school to start work at early ages. However, in the later years the value of education is being felt much more and younger parents are beginning to actively encourage their children to study. Teachers report that in the past few Aruban parents came to see about their children's progress in school, but this is changing. As mentioned earlier, many Arubans are now primary teachers; however, it is noted that to date comparatively few have gone on to attain higher certificates. Several of these teachers not on scholarship have mentioned not wishing to place further financial burdens on their parents at the time and some of these are now taking further courses in Aruba. So financial reasons can be one factor; however, other considerations include, no doubt, a very practical attitude of preparing for what is in view <u>now,</u> not for what may come about in the future. Now that there is an overt attempt both on the real and verbal level for Arubans to take over jobs held by non-Arubans, this attitude may be altered. A second factor demands investigation: there are indications that the Arubans are very independent in terms of their private wishes and actions while being

at the same time very dependent on the immediate family and their friends. So unless the individual is highly goal oriented or has been pushed to study during adolescence, it is difficult to maintain the discipline needed for advanced study, and especially when far away from the immediate home and friends.

Although observation indicates that in most instances they are friendly and helpful, the Arubans, as described by themselves and by non-Arubans, are shy, generally preferring to be with those whom they know, which means most frequently other Arubans. In general, they have the best relations as a group with the Venezuelans as many can claim a few relatives, no matter how distant, living there. Actually, some of the folklore of the island shows a deep interrelationship between the two countries. Two informants reported that the old people mentioned the Indians who still live underground in the caves and at night spread their wings and fly to Venezuela for food, returning to Aruba afterward.

The Arubans are very proud of their Indian ancestry and will say that they had no Negro slaves, feeling that the difference between them and the Curaçaleñans is that Curaçao has an African base while Aruba has the Indian base. The shyness, quiet retiring mannerisms, are attributed to their Indian ancestry. One Aruban informant said:

> The Arubans are descended from the Indians, and as you are from the Southwest, you should know how they are. They have their own ways . . . if they like you they like you, but they have to know you well . . . I am from the X part of the island and sometimes I find myself acting a bit selfish (i.e., staying apart from others). One has to think about these things and be a bit introspective, no?

Another seemed to put in words thoughts expressed by many real Arubans

when in discussing the Arubans, he stated:

> We have always been shy, even I, but I've had to fight to get over it. We are overextending ourselves . . . you know prior to 1929, it was an aloe and agricultural economy. People migrated to Colombia to work in coffee, and to Cuba and Venezuela. They made straw hats at home. Then with Lago it was touched with magic. Sint Nicolaas developed in a few years time; the island still suffers from the shock. It's not enough to adapt. I've seen little things happening for them to keep up (i.e., with the times).

He implied that certain valuable characteristics were lost in the process of "keeping up". He also mentioned he did not feel Arubans

> . . . across the board lack authority. They feel they are not quite ready. They are not shirking, but are afraid they would not do as good a job . . . they are not aspiring to the job that the Dutchmen had . . . you know they are concerned with lost face as much as the orientals, and a few don't speak the language (English).

Although the Arubans have their "aristocratic" families who associate together, there is a rather equalitarian feeling which pervades the island, in contrast to the stratified feeling prevalent in British islands of roughly the same size. The class lines are not so sharply drawn.

Bonairians

These people of the sister island are apparently closest to the Arubans culturally. They are generally liked by all the other groups for being quiet, refined and even-tempered. Several informants jokingly stated that they were "next to God" for their kindness and good temper, for even when drinking they are seldom belligerent. The Bonairians had a larger number of African slaves at the time of emancipation than the Arubans, so there is a greater number of Negroid and Mulatto phenotypes among the population, although there are certain parts of Bonaire where

more Indian types predominate. The Bonairians also tend to "keep to themselves", but are friendly and hospitable. According to informants the majority came to Aruba to work on the ships of the transport company. Over a period of time they married on Aruba or their families came over to accompany them. Although there are exceptions, one informant seemed to express the opinion of many of the younger people when in a discussion of family life, stating

> The ABC father works and parts with his money as he feels like it, does not worry with the family. This was especially for the older fathers, the younger are changing -- there is progress . . . (When do you get to the father?) When the mother sends you, etc., you ask her for shoes and she says ask your father . . . most of the time you don't see him . . . he sleeps, comes home, takes his bath and then takes care of his business . . . in the street . . . many of them chase women or they are at the club. My father was always at the club. Fathers in Bonaire are not much around the house; this is really something general throughout. He doesn't care . . . no maja, or Maha relationship with the family. He knows the wife and children are there, and he has his life apart from them . . . that is general for the Antillean . . . This is getting less for we are going forward, all are happy . . . the older generation were happy in their way.

At present due to the fact that Lago disbanded her fleet some years ago, few work as seamen or navigators and many of the workers have now returned to Bonaire as a result of retrenchment of the company. Some now have businesses of various types, others work for the government and Lago. In general, they seem very unobtrusive. Compared to Surinamers and Curaçaleñans, relatively few belonged to what could be considered either the elite or the service clubs.

Curaçaleñans

Curaçao, the seat of the central government was, prior to emancipation, a central distributing place for slaves. Consequently, there is a large concentration of the persons of African descent which tends to

inundate any remaining Indian influences on the island. Also in Curaçao the class system was more clearly marked than in the other Antilles. This has probably been added to by the presence of English and Dutch working for Shell who were so organized that once even the seating in certain movies was regulated by salary. Therefore Curaçaleñans have class as well as color distinctions in their background. There were a large number of Sephardic Jews in key economic positions and an old Protestant-Dutch elite in addition to Latinized Catholic subgroups (Hoetink 1967).

In addition to patterns of stable legal marriage, an accompanying pattern of concubinage existed not only among the Jewish aristocracy, but also among the middle classes with their acquisition of traits from Latin America, and the folk populations. It is felt that of the three islands, Curaçao had the greatest Dutch influence and this shows in Papiamentu, where Dutch words are more prevalent than in the Papiamentu of Bonaire and Aruba.

Curaçaleñans of all classes and colors have been in Aruba from time to time. As the administrative activities for the Antilles were concentrated in Curaçao, school and other training facilities were in excess of those for other areas. Therefore, Curaçaleñans were often in Aruba as civil servants of various grades or as policemen, where education and training were important. In the refinery Curaçaleñans worked in a variety of positions including those of common laborers. Possibly their heterogeneity as well as their proximity to their homeland have been contributing factors in their never having really had an organization purely their own as have the Surinamers, Bonairians and Windward Islanders.

The Windward Islanders

The three English speaking islands together with the aforementioned ABC's constitute the Netherlands Antilles. They are situated some 550 miles away from the first group and are surrounded by the former British Islands. The larger of the three Windwards territories, Sint Maarten, 13.5 square miles in area, shares an island with French St. Martin. The other two islands, Saba and St. Eustatius (Statia), are located a short distance away.

The economic situation on these islands was such that by the early 1920's many had migrated to other places such as Santo Domingo seeking work. With the opening of Lago, Windward Islanders returned to Aruba. Sabans, renowned for their skills at sea, served with the transport service and in other capacities. A number of Windward Islanders were in a similar position to Bonairians and Arubans in regard to education. Their advantage was the ability to speak English, the language chosen as the medium of communication as it was reported that the Aruban intellectuals advised against the use of Papiamentu as it was " . . . inadequate for this purpose . . ." Hartog 1960:356). Males and females went to Aruba, some of the latter with sufficient skills serving as clerical workers and in other capacities in the refinery and others as domestics for the management personnel.

These islands have varying numbers of persons of African descent. St. Eustatius has roughly three percent White; Saba, fifty percent; St. Martin, approximately fifteen percent who are, however, non-Dutch but rather heavily descended from British settlers. Keur (1960:798) finds an absence of a Mulatto class as such on the islands in general although

the phenotypes are present. Although there are class differences on all three islands, each differs somewhat from the others in form. Keur (1960: 796) finds that "On St. Eustatius . . . history had had a peculiarly strong unifying effect on all classes except for the immigrants from the neighboring island of St. Kitts." Their governmental contacts were primarily with Curaçao. Other types of relationships such as work, pleasure trips and marriage occurred between those on the surrounding British and French islands. These islands therefore lacked much of the Spanish influence characteristic of the ABC's.

Although the Windward Islands are grouped together for administrative purposes, there is evidence that there is little true unity, which is understandable in view of geographical circumstances if nothing else. Only in recent years has transportation between these three points been in the least convenient. In the old days transportation schedules were so problematical that the ship which ran between the islands called Atlas was nicknamed "At Last", indicating the fact that it might eventually arrive. All are suspicious of the Curaçao Government, but internally the residents of Saba and Statia are suspicious of Sint Maarteners as the latter are more numerous and "may take advantage" of the situation. One of the problems affecting the operation of the Netherlands Windward Island Organization was the fact that outsiders called it the Sint Maarten Club, because there were more Sint Maarteners and the name of Sint Maarten was more familiar. As late as 1967 this was a source of annoyance to some of the Sabans and Statians who felt there were inequalities in favor of Sint Maarteners. One informant stated:

> You know I think Windward Islanders are the most difficult people to cooperate with in the world; it is their nature to be different . . . The ABC's, although they don't get along, are better suited together than trying to group Saba, Sint Eustatius and St. Maarten. This is one of the problems and you wonder that they couldn't have done much better, (i.e., progress as a group) given their individualism. A Saban is a Saban and feels no connection with Sint Eustatius or Sint Maarten. If they (club officers) had wanted to put on a play for the historical day program with all three participating, it would have been impossible, unless the actors were outsiders that had nothing to do with the Islands. If there were two men and you asked one to do something, i.e., clean the tables, and not the other, who would be from a different island, there would be a problem. It is hard for them, especially when you get people of lower educational levels . . .

There is a limited amount of interaction among some of the White and Black Windward Islanders on Aruba, during illness, at funerals and weddings. The Sint Maarten Whites are reportedly clannish and quiet. The same is said to be true of all the Sabans. They are all friendly enough, but are inclined to be quiet and stick to themselves, especially as far as socializing and marriage are concerned. These trends tend to break down among the younger generations born or reared primarily in Aruba.

Keur (1960:800) mentions the fact that "The Dutch form of civil marriage has been adopted and is popular; so much so that common-law unions, while known and accepted, are not very frequent." This would appear to be the case for Windward Islanders of the middle income groups living in Aruba, with better education, medium level civil service and business positions, and less folk-like traits. However, there is a tendency to have children prior to marriage, and there seems to be no feeling of obligation to marry the mother of the children, with the result that the chances of marriage decrease for the woman involved.

In some instances the illegitimate children conceived prior to or during one's marriage are brought into the man's legal home and reared under his supervision, which occurs frequently throughout the West Indian area. Others on a more folk or "sporting-life" level assume little responsibility for these children and consider the number produced a proof of virility. There are some indications in informants' statements that this pattern was not so prevalent in the Windward Islands in the older days, corroborating Keur's remarks. One older, alert, and well-educated informant was surprised to come to Aruba years ago and find so many people living together, as she was unaware of this occurring so often and openly at home. It could be that this tendency became more prominent in a much more disorganized urban context, with contact with different peoples.

According to informants, the older Windward Island legal father takes a more active role in the home and the actual molding of the children that the "folk" or rural father in the ABC's.

Surinamers

The population of Surinam is composed of the following ethnic groups: (1) Amerindians, (2) Bush Negroes, (3) Javanese, (4) Chinese, (5) East Indians, (6) "Creoles" of African descent mixed with Europeans of whom a large number were Dutch, (7) Europeans, and to a lesser extent, Lebanese and Madeirans.

Surinam, as distinguished from the Antilles, was a much more prized territory of the Dutch and therefore received more attention. Although the Negroid population spoke a "Negro-English", Sranang Tongo -- called by outsiders "talkie-talkie" -- which was understood and used

differentially by the other populations (van Assenderp 1957:71), Dutch was the official language. The latter was actually utilized by a majority, especially of those with any degree of education, for in the days before independence, Sranang Tongo was deprecated. The educational facilities, contacts with the motherland, a diverse class system, cultural pluralism, and the actual size of the population produced a more sophisticated citizen in the early years than did the generally folk-oriented culture of the Antilles other than Curaçao. With this exposure, plus the advantage of Dutch, those Surinamers with a degree of education could advance rapidly during the early days in Aruba. Many were qualified to occupy civil service positions under and equal to those occupied by the Dutch, and to work as teachers and doctors. Even those on a folk level felt a strong drive for education and advancement, possibly as at that point they could readily see where these attributes could lead. However, outside of Curaçao, and even there to a limited degree prior to the late 1920's, in the relatively generalized societies of the Antilles, it was difficult to see many instances of local people rising above their earlier "stations" in life, in order to be stimulated to follow this pattern. As a result of the job opportunities, Surinamers of all levels and colors came to Aruba and worked for the government, Lago, or opened private businesses.

In general Surinamers were interested in the education of their children and the bettering of their positions. As a result, their offspring frequently got higher education and competed for scholarships sooner than some of the Antilleans exclusive of Curaçaleñans. The following remarks can be heard often: "The Surinamers are in everything;"

"They came out to work and they will do anything to keep their jobs." There appears to be a general feeling that Surinamers are very cautious, and will even "turn" on a friend for the sake of a job or advancement.

As a result of their diversity, they can be found in all types and levels of social organizations and in high level administrative jobs. As they have a considerable folk element among the population, some individuals of this group may be found residing in "keeping", "living", in common-law relations and in the "slum" areas of the island. Those of other strata may have a mistress and some illegitimate children on the side in keeping with the 18th and 19th century conceptions of the colonial or plantation gentleman, as is prevalent throughout plantation America and other areas of former colonialism. Although there are some Catholics, Protestants are in the majority and the Moravians appear more numerous among the latter.

Netherlanders

An attempt was made to determine if the European Dutch present in Aruba came from any particular area of the Netherlands. Dr. Hartog stated verbally that this did not seem to be the case; however, a number came from the northern sectors of the country. The majority of those on Aruba seem to have come for work; that is, they are in effect stationed there as part of their jobs as police, government officials, and the clergy. It is interesting to note that the rate of exchange is approximately one Antillean to two Dutch guilders, which means if they continue on the same salary scale they earn almost twice as much in the Antilles. Although there is the tendency to regard placement in Aruba as a hardship post, their standard of living is generally higher than in Holland.

It appears that a number of the Dutch of Aruba have come for a short tour of duty to earn money. Antilleans feel that the majority come only for this reason. There are others who are interested in excitement, something new. Some have lived in the tropics, that is, Indonesia, for years and cannot take the climate or the attitudes of the motherland and choose Aruba instead.

Dutch informants indicate there are basically two groups, those who come in rather high level governmental and business capacities and the teachers. These two groups reportedly interact only on a limited basis. It is interesting that this division leaves out the clergy and lower police officers. However, experience indicates that the former are multifaceted, operating in either circle and perhaps serving as a link between the two groups.

The overseas Dutch, therefore, held some of the top administrative, teaching, and medical posts, constituted the major members of the clergy and were in charge of the police force. As Antilleans, specifically Arubans, return from studies with the qualifications and experience necessary to fill these posts, the Dutch are being replaced.

Observation indicates that the Dutch generally seem to exhibit some of the traits shown among the Arubans. They are friendly ". . . to a point", but individualistic, reserved, and retiring. Therefore a great many are not "joiners", in the sense of the Americans and the British, and are usually found in service-oriented organizations. In addition to being reserved, informants report that in Holland they were very localistic or provincial in some areas until recent times. They are exceedingly thrifty, which causes them to be ridiculed by the Antilleans, and are

conscious of levels in a social sense. The latter, though significant in the island, are not so important as in Curaçao, for example. It is interesting to note that many of the comments regarding rural Dutchmen in Keur's study of an area near Drents could be the same for some of the conservative Aruban families. In regard to older people in the home:

> Their economic security is assured, and more than that, they have considerable power and prestige in the family group. Grandmother often controls the purse-strings and tells mother just when and what to feed the baby. Grandfather still tells sons and sons-in-law what to do on the land and how to manage the cows. Respect and deference is shown them, even when the children and grandchildren "know better" after attending agricultural schools or consultation bureaus" (Keur and Keur 1955:112).

As to their leadership abilities, "They are leader material but in a society that spurns direct demonstrations of authority, their abilities are channeled in organizational activity" (1955:139). They also tended to stick close to home if at all possible. "Manifestly, the great majority of Drents people are unhappy and insecure when they are away from home. They are afraid they will not know what to do and they find it hard to adapt" (1955:154). Keur also discussed the inability of the Drents farmers to express emotions, which is frequently said of the Arubans, especially the older, at least to outsiders unless under the influence of alcohol. In the past, similar attitudes on the part of Arubans have been considered to be a result of their "Indian ancestry". However, the above material opens the possibility for these traits to be equally a part of their Dutch heritage, as these characteristics may have been prevalent in many rural Dutch areas of 75 to 125 years ago. As the Island was so isolated from mainland Dutch influences due to neglect and and poor transportation until recently, these tendencies may have

continued uninterrupted by any new Dutch trends for a longer time than in Holland.

Non-Dutch Residents

British

During the time that the Eagle Refinery was operating, there were a number of employees from the British Isles and some have been employed by Lago. However, the overwhelming majority of British subjects came from the Caribbean area. As stated earlier, some of the refinery workers were brought in on contract; others came on their own. The variety among those islands is tremendous, as for example the differences between small islands such as St. Kitts and Anguilla compared to the cosmopolitan Trinidad and British Guiana. The differences were even more obvious in the early 1930's. Some of the emigrants were well educated from middle class backgrounds; others with barely the educational essentials came from predominantly folk communities. Those from islands such as Trinidad, St. Lucia, Dominica, and Carriacou spoke French Creole in addition to the English Creole and therefore sometimes were better able to communicate with Patois speakers of the French Islands than with those of the middle and upper classes of their own islands.

The English speaking workers were in demand for, as among the Surinamers, many had the necessary job skills and could speak the language utilized by the refinery. They too could be found in all levels open to "locals", with the uneducated "folk" types at the bottom of the scale. Something of the variation of attitudes and opinions among the

Britishers towards those of other islands may be felt from the following remarks between a man and a woman who were discussing the various characteristics of the islands:

> Some of the BWI came in on contract, and their passages were paid by the Lago -- those from St. Vincent, for example. Some came as laborers as those from St. Vincent and Grenada. [He turned up his nose at Dominica.] Most of them came as laborers as they had no educational level, the same as in St. Vincent. Barbados is full of intelligent people, those that know how to get along; they had a longer tradition of education than some of the other islands. They really can get along . . . Trinidadians came in as skilled laborers and higher employees . . . [The lady disagreed that Bajans were] anything special; percentage-wise Grenada had more professionals, because they were smaller and really made an effort to educate their children.

As the level of entrepreneurship was high among the British, many opened businesses of various types with differing degrees of success. In general these islanders were highly association-conscious and actively interested in sports. Thus Britishers were the organizers or force behind the organization of many of the associations in the Sint Nicolaas area. They were actively involved in union activities which resulted in the deportation of a few persons after the first main strike.

As mentioned earlier, the West Indians were from different classes and subsequently of different family patterns, with recurrent illegitimacy and "keeping" relationships fairly standard among the more "folk" families, and the mistress on the side for the middle classes. There were differences, however, between the islands. According to M. G. Smith (1961), the pattern of "keeping" or common-law marriage is fairly rare on Carriacou. The Dutch regulations for entry and continued stay in Aruba have served to increase formal marriages and limit some of the extra-marital activity among the "folk". In order for mates to enter,

couples had to be legally married and after the earliest years of immigration, adequate housing had to be secured for the family or spouse. This housing was inspected by government officials prior to the arrival of the family on the island. As a result numerous British families, or couples where one is British, live in legal relationships. One informant in condition to observe these patterns reported West Indians may slip back into the old patterns during vacations and spawn offspring on their home islands. In discussing the positions of the BWI on the island, one informant disclosed:

> . . . Well you know to be able to come here, they need to work, to earn a salary, and they know it and they work hard . . . I am not sure if in their own country it would be the same . . . But here they work; it's not like some who work six months then drink the rest of the time, etc. . . . and they have a push, perhaps because of this, to educate their children so that they won't be simply common men and thus be able to be treated in any way . . . They will be someone with rights . . .

A number of the British workers had above standard qualifications at the time of arrival, such as degrees from British colleges, and certificates in engineering by correspondence courses, but were unable to work at the level of these qualifications. One reason was that Dutch educational certificates were required to work outside of Lago in certain professions such as pharmacy and other fields. Those in such a predicament opened businesses; others began work in Lago as the pay was comparatively good and thus they were able to carry on their family obligations such as to help educate their younger siblings or care for aged parents and so forth. Another factor which many point out is the Lago attitude toward "locals". They indicate that at one time Lago "couldn't use" highly trained Negroid locals at their actual capacity. This situation

has of course changed in recent years. Many of the British women worked as domestics for the Lago management personnel and for island families generally. A few worked in clerical positions at Lago.

The number of Britishers has been drastically reduced since the automation of Lago. As a result their organizations have either ceased to exist or are floundering. A number of the latter are actively attempting to interest "the Dutch" and specifically the Arubans in their activities in order to continue to operate.

It is interesting to note that some of the ex-Lago employees have, upon returning to their home islands, become actively involved in politics and two have become prime ministers.

United States Citizens

Until very recently the American "colony" was sharply segregated from the general island population. They lived on land near the refinery which is surrounded by a fence, in what one informant called a "concentration camp". At one point during World War II Lago was definitely a vital strategic area. However, the fencing and heavy patrolling of the area may have resulted from the fact that in the earliest days of Lago, massive losses were suffered through theft. "Materials and tools to a total value of tens of thousands of guilders a year were disappearing" (Hartog 1960:327). This fencing and inspection was resented by most of the local population, and was considered as part of the segregationalist policy of the company.

Although the majority of the families were American, all the management personnel lived there at one time and this involved Caucasians

of other nationalities, that is, Dutch, English, Canadians, including captains of some of the vessels. The colony has also suffered loss of population during the last years due to general retrenchment and encouragement of early retirement of personnel.

Older informants say that the composition and structure of the colony was typical of that of oil towns throughout the world. The early boom, with a period of adjustment, a peak, followed by a downward slope. Apparently in the early years Aruba was considered a hardship post; therefore, the salaries and the fringe benefits had to compensate for the placement itself. A hospital was established for all workers and their families. The management bungalows were gradually enlarged to the point where some are show places; a primary and secondary school was built for the children; club and yachting facilities were opened for staff, plus a library and a church.

Due to the nature of the oil refinery organization, the type of Americans coming to Aruba in the early years varied as to region and family background. Some of the local informants felt they were in general unpolished "cowboy" types with little "real" education. Of course this would have varied in terms of the jobs performed. "The tank-builders, who constituted the great mass of the first Americans here, were of course generally recruited from the lower strata of society" (Hartog 1960:324). The latter created quite a problem during the early years in the town with excessive drinking and loud aggressive behavior, and refused to comply with the requests of local police. This factor plus others led to a change in the local police system. After the initial building of the plant, American staff were primarily management

level. Until recent years the members of the colony were generally isolated from the rest of the island population, with most of their recreational, medical, and other services supplied by Lago.

French

These persons came primarily from the neighboring French Islands as St. Martin, Guadeloupe and Martinique. In 1945 only seven out of a total of 149 Frenchmen were from France (Hartog 1960:315).

Here also were divisions into the masses of laborers of folk background and others with middle class educational background and family orientation. As with the British, if the French wanted to bring in family members and remain in Aruba, they fell under closer scrutiny of their living arrangements than did the Antillean citizens, causing a modicum of conformity to the island ideal in this area. The mass of French workers have subsequently repatriated and those left no longer form a recognizable entity. A number of those still remaining have Dutch rights or are married to Dutch citizens.

Colombians

These persons apparently never really crystallized into any identifiable form, perhaps due to their proximity to the homeland and the fact that Colombians are so varied as far as regional, class and cultural distinctions are concerned. They also vary as to racial background and a variety of phenotypes are observed.

A number worked for Lago and some have business connections in Aruba. However, since the lay-off many have returned to their homes or sought other employment elsewhere.

The one clearly identifiable group of Colombians on Aruba are in fact transients, although some have succeeded in marrying Antilleans and thus obtained the coveted "Dutch rights". These are the prostitutes who are able to come in temporarily for three months or at the most six, to work in the bars of Sint Nicolaas. Apparently they, too, are from varying backgrounds, including clerical workers. Some are reportedly married and they come to earn in guilders, thus taking advantage of the higher rate of exchange into Colombian pesos. These women are the most refined and the healthiest appearing prostitutes the writer has ever seen.

Dominicans (Dominican Republic)

This group can be divided into two groups -- those of "true" Dominican background or Latins, of which there are a fair number, and those of West Indian background. Numerous workers from the British and the Dutch Windwards went there to work and with the opening of Lago, came to Aruba. As a result, many of the Dominicans are English speaking, the quality varying with the education of the parents, and Spanish educated, with family values which have been affected by Dominican standards. Of this group a number say they are Dominicans as they have never been to the Windward Islands and cannot claim to be Arubans; others feel that they are "Dutch".

Evidently a number of transient Dominicans have come to Aruba periodically to work as prostitutes as the earnings were substantial. During the peak of prosperity a number of single male workers were residents on the island. Informants indicate that although both types may be found in either place, there is a tendency toward a territorial

breakdown with Colombian and Venezuelan prostitutes in Sint Nicolaas and the Dominicans in Oranjestad.

The true Dominicans presently appear few in number and do not stand out as a group, tending to associate with other Spanish speaking peoples if not married to Antilleans.

Chinese

Those who are racially Chinese are divided into two cultural groups, the Creoles, or Chinese who have been reared in the West Indian Islands such as Trinidad, British Guiana, or Surinam, and those with Hong Kong or mainland Chinese background. The former are more acclimated to the systems of their West Indian homelands. The bridge between the two cultural groups is formed by Chinese either born in the West Indies who were sent back to Hong Kong to school or those born in China or Hong Kong but who received most of their education and socialization in the West Indies. The creole Chinese workers came in with the other workers of the islands to work for Lago. The Hong Kong and mainland Chinese in part used to form crews sailing under British captains in transporting oil. When Lago changed the form of vessel used, numbers stayed on to seek other employment and to open small shops and do limited truck farming. When they were settled their relatives would come to join them. Several sent back to Hong Kong for brides, others married Aruban girls. The Creoles intermarried with the general population of their home island and other West Indians. As a result of the lay-off, many Trinidadian Chinese returned to Trinidad and older men retired to Hong Kong. There are others, however, who have no intention of returning and plan to

remain in Aruba. The members care for their own sick and indigent as much as possible through the Chinese club, and attempt to settle all the disputes among themselves and generally come to the aid and support of each other.

Portuguese

Very few of the Portuguese on Aruba are from the mainland; the majority are from the islands, including Madeira. Observation and informants' statements indicate that they are hard working and quiet. At one time they did the chores which the Antillean resisted, for example, worked as gardeners, street cleaners and, in addition, worked for Lago. At present the majority of mobile ice cream sellers are Portuguese and they can be seen out in full force on holidays, pumping their bicycles furiously in the hot sun. In the later years quite a few have amassed sufficient capital to open refresquerias and have purchased their own homes.

Although they frequently intermarry with the native Arubans -- many come as single men -- they tend to remain together, meeting in certain of the refresquerias to drink and chat. One family, of mainland Portuguese descent, is one of the top island businessmen and consequently in top level associations.

Venezuelans

The Venezuelan element is very important on Aruba as was noted in Chapter 2, but is somewhat nebulous and very intertwined with the native Aruban and Curaçaleñan population at all levels through intermarriage and residence. Some Arubans have resided and worked in

Venezuela for years and the same is true of Venezuelans in Aruba. As a result they tend to blend in more than some of the groups described earlier. The Dutch system of education where multilingualism becomes a definite fact is appreciated by the frequently monolingual Venezuelans and as a result their children are sent to Aruba for the Dutch education as this aids in job placement upon their return to Venezuela. There is constant two way traffic to and from Aruba for business, pleasure, and education by both Venezuelans and Antilleans.

A final important group are the Jewish merchants. The aristocratic Sephardic element is not so important on Aruba as on Curaçao. Most of them are merchants; a few started on a very humble scale to become quite wealthy. The present Jewish residents are important in terms of the economy in spite of their relatively limited number. In 1953 there were approximately 81 Ashkenazic Jewish families on the island. During the early part of 1960, 40 were reported (Hartog 1960:370). However, it was in 1960-1961 that their synagogue was built.

The wealthier businessmen are members of the elite service clubs and interact on that level.

Summary

As can be seen from the brief description of the ethnic groups, there is a great variety not only between the various groups, but also within each group as to racial origins, class and family backgrounds. Residents of certain islands or countries are known to blend into the native community, as for example, the Guyanese and the Surinamers who have a tendency to "disappear" after awhile. Others tend to remain as

a group, like those from the British Island of Dominica, even though they have become acculturated to the extent that some of the young adults are more at home in Papiamentu than in English.

One broad general pattern which most of the groups share is the prevalent plantation or colonial pattern of frequent illegitimacy and/or the keeping of mistresses. However, it appears that lower class or "folk" Antilleans are, or were, more inclined (perhaps Curaçao is to be excluded here) to legal marriages than "folk" British West Indians.

Another broad common denominator is that the majority came to work only for a few years with the intention of returning to their homes, but eventually settled down on the island with the home base receding more each year.

It was noticed that English speakers were classed together indiscriminately as English by many Dutch and Papiamentu speakers, not noting the Dutch and British nationality differences. As similar phenotypes were often present in most of the ethnic groups, ethnic distinctions were often made in terms of the surnames. Informants were very familiar with the names of the islanders in general and would be able to isolate individuals in terms of their names, that is, Bonairian, Saban, Surinamer, Aruban, or Curaçaleñan. Older Aruban informants were able to relate names with particular areas of Aruba; however, due to the shifting of localities this is no longer an easy task.

In considering the relationships of the groups to each other, there does not seem to be any clear-cut "ranking" of groups <u>per se.</u> Portuguese may be referred to in a derogatory way due to some of the jobs they have frequently held, but this does not carry over to their children.

Folk Arubans and folk or less well educated Windward Islanders are often discussed in disparaging terms, the former for their isolative tendencies and their lack of drive in wanting to "get ahead" and the tendency of the males to drink and become violent even among themselves. The latter were also criticized for their lack of drive, for the high rate of illegitimacy and lack of interest in obtaining proper homes for their families (i.e., continuing to live in the "village"), while spending their money on cars and clothing. "English" people in general were criticized for being "so loud", and this was also a criticism of Curaçaleñans who, it is said, were often loud and given to wearing flashy clothing. However, Curaçaleñans were also "cheap", a characteristic which they shared with the Dutch. "Britishers" often considered the "Dutch" rude and unmannerly plus being hypersensitive. Curaçaleñans, Surinamers, and the Britishers were said to think they "knew it all", and the latter two accused each other, and were accused by other informants, of being willing to turn their backs on friends for the sake of a job. The better educated Britishers, Surinamers and Curaçaleñans were the more cosmopolitan and knowledgeable, better able to operate in the new situation into which Lago transformed Aruba. The important fact is the more folk-oriented local groups were able to learn from these individuals with whom they were often in close contact due to the size of the island and more or less unrestricted mingling of the "locals" as against the isolation of the management personnel. Several informants as well as the interviewer noticed a change in the British residents on Aruba. It appears that the tendency of the folk and lower class British West Indian to "spar intellectually", to delight in the sharply delivered and well turned word

which produced great Calypsonians, becomes modified in the Dutch setting. There was less reason for the Britishers to struggle in the Dutch Islands than in their homelands due to the higher salaries and comparatively greater ease in obtaining physical necessities and education for their children. Further, the Britisher did not have to contend with the sharply defined class and color barriers in Aruba as frequently existed in his home island. Although the Dutch and the Danes (Tannenbaum 1947) were reportedly the cruelest slavers; their basic concept of race as reflected in their adjustment to black people appears to be of a different sort than that of the French, English, and Americans. V. S. Naipaul (1962:164), a rather "sociological" type novelist, mentioned the difference between race relations in two countries very similar in ecology and history. He pointed out that Surinam ". . . has a population more mixed than that of British Guiana and Trinidad, yet it does not have the racial problems of these territories, though there is inevitably a growing rivalry between the Negroes and the East Indians, the two largest groups." This does not, however, mean that racial or color prejudice does not exist in these islands. It exists and sometimes is the subject of jokes as when one brown-skinned individual laughingly stated, "I wish good living would turn me white . . ." Not having to push and struggle in the relatively more rigid British system has resulted in a "softening" effect bringing the Britishers more toward the center of a continuum in terms of reserve, which had the Britishers at one end, with Curaçaleñans, Windward Islanders, Surinamers in the middle, while the Netherlanders and folk Arubans were at the opposite end.

As stated before, no ethnic group appears ranked uniformly low, except possibly the Portuguese, and this is not evident in general conversations with the islanders. Residents of the "village" in Sint Nicolaas are generally looked down upon as this is considered an area of vice, loose family ties, and poorly reared children. Observation has shown that this area has French, Colombian (non-prostitutes), and Curaçaleñan families as well as "English" -- British and Surinamers. In addition, some of these residents hold skilled posts at Lago and other businesses. They either continue to think of their residence in the area as temporary or are caught in a web of family ties and customs which does not allow unmarried family members to live away from home. There also seems to be no difference between groups as to which have the strongest ethnic identities. Members of all the groups have returned home for visits, even some of the Chinese have made trips to mainland China and Hong Kong. There are other members of these same groups who have taken vacations but never returned to their island of birth, while a few have never left the island since their arrival.

There appear to be three types of isolativeness on the island: (1) that shown by the Americans, which appears to largely involve "status"; other Europeans on the managerial level were accepted into the colony. With repatriation and retirement of large numbers of the Lago staff, and the "Antilleanization" of the management levels of the refinery, there has been greater interaction with the islanders. In the old days their interaction was primarily with their own groups on a social basis or horizontally and on a downward basis with the Antillean factory workers and their "English" servants; (2) that of the "Dutch".

It appears that the Dutch in general are rather reserved and family oriented. In addition, they are conscious of associating with those of the "right level", not too high and especially not too low. This may explain somewhat the tendency of the teachers to associate together and those of the civil service to remain together. The islanders complain that the Antillean students who have married Dutch women frequently are drawn into the latter group upon their return to the island. However, this tendency to remain together is also reported for the Antilleans generally, with the exception of the Curaçaleñans. However, the Dutch as a whole interact with the islanders to a much higher degree than those in the colony; (3) there appears to be a general tendency among the more folk-like members of all the groups to have more contacts with their fellows or those who are similar in cultural background than their more sophisticated countrymen. This is not to say that all "folk" interact only with members of their own group, nor does it mean that those members of the ethnic groups on other levels operate solely with members outside that group. Ethnicity does not appear to be the primary factor in establishing social relationships. Equally important are propinquity and the general personal characteristics of individuals.

Epstein's (1961:31-32) study of social relationships in an urban African context found that although there were other sets of regularities present in urban life, the character of the social life was essentially random. He speaks of the ". . . random or haphazard character of much of urban social life." Aruban data tends to corroborate his statement. It would appear that in the absence of strict or rigid social, ethnic, or class barriers or focuses, factors of propinquity, common interests,

and "likeable" personalities would figure more importantly in urban social relations than racial, ethnic, or even "class" considerations. This would appear to be the case in Aruba. Birthdays are of extreme importance to most of the islanders and some type of fete (party) is held to celebrate the affair. It was noticed that often family members and co-workers or fellow students would be present for these affairs. In some offices and classes, all the workers or all the members of the class go to the home of the individual who is celebrating. In some instances where there had been deaths in the families of the individual's friends, fetes were cancelled, postponed, or the fete was held with no dancing, in honor of the death of a distant friend or the relative of a friend. The investigator was able to observe these celebrations for several members in various families, and noted that the guests of the different siblings often varied in terms of the ethnic and racial mixtures present as well as the age groups. One informant was rather emphatic in saying he had nothing to do with the "English people". However, when we visited some of his "best" friends, two out of four were English. One was British, one of British Windward Island extraction, another a "real" Aruban, and one of mixed Aruban-Bonairian parentage. It becomes evident that individualism in a certain sense is a factor which seems to figure importantly in Holland, and also seems to have penetrated most of the Antillean Islands with the possible exception of Bonaire. The combination of individualism and general island insularism which results in breaking down into island groups or sections of island groups has possibly kept many of the segments from developing

into strong, firmly structured ethnic groups. This may especially have been the case as there was no strong outside force threatening the various segments either as individuals or groups.

CHAPTER 4

TYPES AND ROLES OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The ideas expressed in this chapter are based on material gathered during 141 scheduled interviews with 213 persons covering 83 voluntary associations. The following definitions have been given for three kinds of non-kin groups by the Random House, Webster, and Little Oxford dictionaries:

Random House (1966):

Association: An organization of people with a common purpose having a formal structure.

Club: A group of persons organized for a social, literary, athletic, political or other purpose.

Society: An organized group of persons associated together for . . .

Webster (1947):

Association: Union of persons in a society for some common purpose.

Club: An association of persons for the promotion of some common object as literature, good fellowship . . .

Society: A voluntary association of individuals for common ends.

Little Oxford (1941):

Association: Organized body of persons.

Club: Body of persons associated for social or other purposes.

Society: An association of persons.

Although there may be a subtle indication that society and association may be more formally organized bodies than are clubs, essentially the definitions are interchangeable. In general, the above definitions may be reduced to Hughes' (1955:227): "An association is a group of persons pursuing some interest in common." Therefore, for this study, voluntary associations are defined as simply ". . . institutionalized groups in which membership is attained by joining . . ." after Little (1965:1).

It was recognized that voluntary associations vary tremendously as to purpose and organizational forms (Rose 1954:58; Bohannon 1963:154-156) and therefore may include what the general public considers as societies, associations and clubs. Little's general definition was used in view of the basic purpose of attempting to determine if through the study of voluntary associations one could understand how a complex society is integrated. With this as the goal it follows that the above definition affords a wider working base than those with limiting factors traditionally used in anthropology, as for example, that of Lowie (1948), or Anderson's defining of voluntary associations as ". . . social groups in which the bond that unites is a primary shared interest other than that of either kinship or territory" (1964:25). Use of the latter, or emphasis of the non-kinship aspect, would have resulted in the exclusion of some associations which would be vital for an adequate understanding of the Aruban situation. It is apparent that the "Top-Ten" associations of the island were organized by a group of friends and relatives interested in sports, such as "Skor ball", and it is evident that the kinship element played an important part in membership until recent years. Arubans in

general and other islanders point to this tendency when informants say ". . . you have to be a Fulano or a Doe (mentioning a number of surnames of the "old families") to join." Others with more insight into the organization of these associations explain that "those are really family clubs."

In discussing variations in types of associations, Rose adds ". . . the only thing they have in common is that the purposes are limited, and almost never will an association act for a purpose different from the original one which brought members together" (1954:58). The latter seems not to hold in all instances. In Aruba, some organizations have adjusted to shifting needs by making internal adjustments, such as setting apart a specialized fund or committee which is responsible for the carrying out and control of the new interest. Several organizations thus have "funds" or committees which function so effectively that the general public considers them as separate associations. The islanders themselves make a distinction between clubs and associations, regarding clubs as being more for recreational and entertainment purposes and associations as better organized. However, most of the ethnic associations have club in their names. This is not strictly meaningful as they are translated from Papiamentu, Spanish, and Dutch. In Dutch, the word vereniging appears frequently in the official titles, and is translated to union, society, or club, although club is also a word in the Dutch language having the same meaning as in English.

Types of Associations

The 83 associations varied as to their aims, activities, and methods of operation. Most groups operated on a year around basis. A

few associations functioned only at certain times of the year, such as for Carnival or during the period of the Queen's birthday celebration, because they were organized around Carnival affairs or various activities during the celebration of the Queen's birthday. There seemed to be less variation in their organization and in their meeting format. This high degree of similarity may be influenced by the fact that all registered organizations receive official charters or statutes from the government, which necessitates a formal presentation of the aims, organizational structure, and proposed methods of operation of the association in constitutional form prior to the issuance of the statute. Apparently as a result, there are a few favorite formats which are generally followed. One rather interesting common denominator is that the great majority of associations studied seemed at one time to have had rather strong selective mechanisms for membership, at least on the verbal level. This may also result from the fact that their operating procedures are written into their constitutions. For many, membership is obtained through recommendation of a member or members in good standing.

Another common characteristic drawn from observation and informants' statements indicates that most of the organizational functions involving roughly the same age groups follow the same patterns, with similar music and the use of the same bands. A final general trend is that all of the predominantly non-Aruban associations have suffered declining membership in some degree due to repatriation of workers, which resulted from the automation of the refinery.

It was noted that organizations following the Dutch tradition generally were equipped with a president, vice president, first and

second secretary, first and second treasurer, and a number of "commissars" or general board members. Those following more English or American tradition had simply a president, vice president, secretary, and treasurer. Some of the organizations are overseas affiliates of Dutch, English, or American organizations and follow the general system of the head organizations. Of the organizations studied, four were Dutch affiliates, eleven American, two English, one Venezuelan, and two had their headquarters and main stimulation coming from Curaçao. However, the three that were English were transferred to the United States during the war; one which formerly was under United States auspices had been transferred to an organization under Dutch auspices; and one, previously Dutch, had been transferred to American control.

Seven youth organizations were included in the sample, nine women's clubs of which five had been organized by the clergy and operated partly as church auxiliaries, nine men's organizations, two foundations, and four strictly religious organizations.

Due to the limited number of associations and the small size of the island, an attempt has been made to retain the confidentiality of the interviewing process by grouping the associations into classes such as ethnic, general, hobby, religious, professional. It was felt that this type of grouping would give some idea of the various types of voluntary associations contacted without revealing specific names. The ethnic associations are grouped under ethnic clubs. The scouts are, of course, included under youth clubs; unions are listed under work associations; while organizations serving general social needs, as the Mental Health Association, are listed under welfare associations. Hotel clubs are

classified as commercial clubs. The numbers given to the associations in a given class, as "service club No. 2", are purely arbitrary.

The associations fall into roughly four types: "national", "ethnic", "local", and "professional". At first an attempt was made to consider national, ethnic, or local association as three levels; however, this was impossible because many of the "Aruban" clubs can be described as both ethnic and locality based. This applies to some of the non-Aruban ethnic organization simply as a result of Sint Nicolaas being the place where the majority of the non-natives reside. However, as they began to spread out to other parts of the island this situation changed for some organizations. This tendency has resulted in problems for at least one of the major ethnic clubs, for now there is some internal conflict as to whether or not the present club building in Sint Nicolaas should be sold and another built near Oranjestad where a large number of members are now located.

The "national" category, as I shall use it, includes associations composed of persons of a number of the ethnic groups represented on the island; "ethnic" associations consist primarily of members of one ethnic group or from one country, island, or group of islands; "local" associations are primarily composed of members from one given locality on the island. The last two are frequently combined, as mentioned above. "Professional" will include those associations in which all the members have the same occupations or work for the same organizations.

The writer visited or observed some of the activities, and/or interviewed members or officers of the 83 groups. They are listed

in Figure 3 and Table 1, and are identified first as to whether they are primarily:

I. National
II. Ethnic
III. Local
IV. Professional

and second as to whether they are:

A. In equilibrium
B. Trying to maintain equilibrium
C. Trying to come up
D. On the way down
E. Down

a. Specific
b. General
c. Athletic

1. Elite, established business, "old" families, top social classes
2. Top business, professional and "social set" primarily
3. Young and middle level professionals, businessmen and social set
4. Young professionals
5. Mixed
6. Mixed, few professionals, upper lower, lower middle aspirants
7. Primarily foreign Whites
8. Folk, upper lower, lower middle aspirants primarily
9. Youth

The terms upper lower, lower middle are used in the context of the Aruban social system. The former implies those at the bottom of the wage and educational scale. Folk are those people who are still rustic and rural in orientation and are outside of the more urban oriented "class" scale, regardless of their wages.

National Organizations

National organizations are those such as the service clubs, the Scouts which have Catholic and Protestant divisions following past Dutch

I. "National"

Religious Club	#1°=(Aa4	Welfare Assn	#1 (A2a	Welfare Assn	#2 (A2a
Women's Rel. Cl	#4 (Aa51	Hobby Club	#1 (Aa5	Youth Club	#5=(A9b
Women's Club	#3 (Ab5	Service Club	#5 (Aa2	General Club	#8 (A5b
Service Club	#2 (Aa4	Service Club	#3 (A1b	Cultural Cl	#2 (B2b
Youth Club	#3 (Aa	Lodge	#2°(A5b	Cultural Cl	#1 (A4a
Youth Club	#2 (Aa	Lodge	#1 (A6b	Hobby Club	#2 (A5a
Young Adult Cl	#2 (Ab5	Foundation	#1 (A4a	Youth Club	#4=(A9b

II. "Ethnic"

Port	Colo	Vene	"F R E N C H"	"E N G L I S H"		"D U T C	
			Fr. West Indies	Br. West Indies	Windward Islands	Bonaire	Curacao
			Ethnic #10 (Eb	Ethnic #5 (D8b	Ethnic #11(C5b	Ethnic	
				Ethnic #6 (E6b	Women's Cl #2(B6b	#7(B5b	
				Ethnic #4 (C6a	Service #4(A6b		
				Ethnic #9 (D8b			
				Lodge #3 (B5			
				Lodge #4 (D8			
				Ethnic #1 (D8b			
				Ethnic #2 (D8b			
				Lodge #5 (B5			
				Women's Rel. #3 (B8=			
				Relig. Club #2 (B8b			
				Women's Rel. #2 (A8=			
				Work Assn #2 (Ca IV			
				Women's Club #4 (A6b		Ethnic	
						#12(Ab5	

III. "Local"

Sports Club #11 (I Aa
Sports Club #13 (IDc
Sports Club #3 (IA5c

IV. "Professional"

Professional Club #1 (I Ab
Professional Club #2 (I Ab
Work Organization #4 (I Ba
Work Organization #6 (IAa
Work Organization #1 (I Ab
Work Organization #3 (I Aa
Work Organization #5 (I Ba

Figure 3. Chart of Island Associations.

Classification in terms of ethnicity, locality, equilibrium, status, and activities.

"National"

n #2 (A2a	Youth Club	#6= (B9a	Sport Club	#5 (Ac
#5=(A9b	Young Adults	#2 (A9b	Sport Club	#2 (A5c=
b #8 (A5b	Women's Rel. Club	#5° (B5a	General Club	#4 (C2a
#2 (B2b	Religious Club	#3°= (A5a	Commercial Club	#1 (A3,4,2,a
#1 (A4a	Religious Club	#4° (A6b	General Club	#8 (A5
#2 (A5a	Econ. Assn.	#1= (A5a		
#4=(A9b	Education Club	#1 (A5a		

. "Ethnic"

"D U T C H"								
ire	Curacao	Aruba	Surinam	Indonesia	Dutch	Chinese	American	Jewish
ic		Foundation #2 (A5a	Ethnic	Ethnic		Ethnic	Women's Cl	
B5b		General Club #1 (A5b	#3 (B5b	#13 (Eb		#8 (D6b	#1 (A2,7a+	?
		Social #2 (A5b	Lodge				Wom. Rel.	
		General Club #2 (A1b	#5°(B5				#1 (B3,7b	
		General Club #3 (Aa1b					General	
		General Club #7 (IIIA5b					#5+(A5b	
		Youth #1 (IIICb						
		Sports #9 (IIIE8b						
		Sports #4 (IIIA9b						
		Sports #8 (IIIA8b						
		Sports #10 (IIIA5b						
		Sports #6 (IIIA5b						
		General Club #1 (IIIA5b						
		Sports #1 (IIIA5c						
iic		Ethnic #12						
Ab5		Sports #7 (D8b						
		Young Adults #3 (A9b						

I Ab
I Ab
I Ba
IAa
I Ab
I Aa
I Ba

I. National
II. Ethnic
III. Local
IV. Professional

A. In equilibrium
B. Trying to maintain equilibrium
C. Trying to come up
D. On the way down
E. Down

a. Specific
b. General
c. Athletic

1. Elite, established business, "old" families, top social classes
2. Top business, professional and "social set" primarily
3. Young and middle level professionals, businessmen and social set
4. Young professionals
5. Mixed
6. Mixed, few professionals, upper lower, lower middle aspirants
7. Primarily foreign Whites
8. Folk, upper lower, lower middle aspirants primarily
9. Youth

= : At least 2 branches over the island

° : At least 2 languages branches, i.e., English and Papiamentu

+ : In recent years turned National

Table 1. Tabulation of associational data based on Figure 3.

	A	B	C	D	E	a	b	c	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
National																	
Commerc'l Cl #1	x					x				x	x	x					
Cultural Club #1	x					x						x					
Cultural Club #2		x					x			x							
Economic Assn #1	x					x							x				
Educ'l Club #1	x					x							x				
Foundation #1	x					x						x					
General Club #4			x			x				x							
General Club #8	x						x						x				
Hobby Club #1	x					x							x				
Hobby Club #2	x					x							x				
Lodge #1	x						x							x			
Lodge #2	x						x						x				
Religious Cl #1	x					x						x					
Religious Cl #3	x					x							x				
Religious Cl #4	x						x							x			
Service Club #1	x					x				x							
Service Club #2	x					x						x					
Service Club #3	x						x		x								
Service Club #5	x					x				x							
Service Club #6	x					x					x						
Sports Club #2	x							x					x				
Sports Club #5	x							x									
Welfare Assn #1	x					x				x							
Welfare Assn #2	x					x				x							
Woman's Club #3	x						x						x				
Women's Rel Cl #4	x					x							x				
Women's Rel Cl #5		x				x							x				
Young Adult Cl #2	x						x						x				
Young Adult Cl #3	x						x										x
Youth Club #2	x					x											
Youth Club #3	x					x											
Youth Club #4	x						x										x
Youth Club #5	x						x										x
Youth Club #6		x				x											x
Ethnic																	
American																	
General #5	x						x						x				
Woman's Club #1	x					x				x							
Women's Rel Cl #1		x					x				x						

Table 1, continued

	A	B	C	D	E	a	b	c	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(Ethnic)																	
Aruba																	
Ethnic Club #7	x						x						x				
Ethnic Club #12	x						x						x				
Foundation #2	x					x							x				
General Club #1	x						x						x				
General Club #2	x						x		x								
General Club #3	x						x		x								
Social Club #1	x						x						x				
Social Club #2	x						x		x								
Sports Club #1	x							x					x				
Sports Club #4	x							x									x
Sports Club #6	x						x						x				
Sports Club #7				x			x									x	
Sports Club #8	x							x								x	
Sports Club #9					x		x									x	
Sports Club #10	x						x										
Young Adult Cl #3	x						x										x
Bonaire																	
Ethnic Club #12	x						x						x				
Ethnic Club #7		x					x						x				
Brit. West Indies																	
Ethnic Club #5				x			x									x	
Ethnic Club #6					x		x							x			
Ethnic Club #4			x			x								x			
Ethnic Club #9				x			x									x	
Chinese																	
Ethnic Club #8				x			x							x			
Fr. West Indies																	
Ethnic Club #10					x		x										
Indonesian																	
Ethnic Club #13					x		x										

Table 1, continued

	A	B	C	D	E	a	b	c	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
(Ethnic)																	
Surinam																	
Ethnic Club #3		x					x						x				
Lodge #5		x											x				
Windward Islands																	
Ethnic Club #11			x				x						x				
Service Club #4	x						x							x			
Woman's Club		x					x							x			
Combined "English"																	
Ethnic Club #1				x			x									x	
Ethnic Club #2				x			x									x	
Lodge #3		x											x				
Lodge #4				x												x	
Lodge #5		x											x				
Religious Club #2	x															x	
Woman's Club #4	x						x							x			
Women's Rel Cl #2	x															x	
Women's Rel Cl #3		x														x	
Work Org'n #2			x			x											
Local																	
Sports Club #3	x							x					x				
Sports Club #11	x					x											
Sports Club #13				x				x									
Professional																	
Professional Cl #1	x						x										
Professional Cl #2	x						x										
Work Org'n #1	x						x										
Work Org'n #3	x					x											
Work Org'n #4		x				x											
Work Org'n #5		x				x											
Work Org'n #6	x					x											

lines, and those which have sections throughout the island. In this group are also many of those with "specific" interests such as the hobby clubs and the Mental Health Association. Also popular among those with higher income were the few hotel clubs, which were relatively new.

Ethnic Associations

As stated earlier it was first claimed by persons interviewed that the Arubans did not really have clubs, except for the two elite groups in Oranjestad. However, with time, more "Aruban" associations were discovered. These often consisted of (1) young couples who, after finding themselves associating constantly, decided to organize in order to plan their recreational activities and thus to save some individual time, energy, and money, or (2) young people who had finished their studies either on the island or abroad and felt the need to get together in order to "have something to do". This seemed one of the underlying reasons given for the organization of most of the ethnic clubs.

Although it was expected that many of the migrants in Aruba would have some type of grouping, the writer was not quite prepared for the large, well-organized ethnic associations such as those of the Chinese, Bonairians, Surinamers, and Windward Islanders which owned large club houses. Only one of the large groups, the British West Indians, never purchased their own building. Perhaps this is related to the fact that in earlier years halls and buildings suitable for accommodating large groups were lacking. Money was relatively plentiful; therefore it was expedient to build. The main association of British West Indians, however, due to its close relationship with the Anglican Church, was able to

make an arrangement whereby the association would use the church facilities in return for the payment of a nominal fee. A large percentage of the parishioners were members of the association, and they had contributed toward the construction of the Church.

A few of the Aruban organizations did not own their club houses. The physical property belonged to a private owner who might or might not be a member of the board of the association. For this reason, informants say that these are not really clubs, but businesses. Varying arrangements were worked out so that the proprietor perhaps might get the "take" or returns from the bar, while the association might get the "take" or proceeds from the tickets collected at the door.

The ethnic clubs differ in respect to their activities, but all those whose members are non-natives have varying degrees of welfare services although their organizational structure may vary. Several had dual organizations involving the administration of the association proper which included benefits for the members and that of the "club", which included recreational aspects. In these few cases, non-nationals might belong to the club and use the physical facilities of the club house, but they might not belong to the association or receive any of the benefits therefrom. In some emergencies nationals who are not members at all may be aided.

There are ethnic groups which have only one association, while others have several. For example, the British had the main association, that is, the British West Indian Association, while some members also belonged to one of the small island associations of which there were at least three. At one time there were British sports associations, as for

example various cricket clubs, but with the repatriation of the mass of workers, these died out as there was insufficient membership left to maintain them.

Perhaps within the ethnic category there should be a further division between (1) those associations which have as their purpose attention to the needs of members belonging to a particular group, and (2) those who simply have a membership consisting primarily of those of one country, island, or group of related islands. Those with the name "Ethnic Club" belong to (1), while the majority of those listed under "Ethnic" in Figure 3 but having names such as "Sports", "General", "Lodge", and so on belong to category (2). Those in category (1) were generally founded earlier than those in (2), and a majority of the non-native societies fall in the former category and those of the natives in the latter.

The reasons for founding those in the (1) group were essentially (a) to have a place to hold their gatherings and to help each other in times of need, and (b) to protect members, that is, to aid in keeping them out of legal, economic, and social difficulties. During the early days, apparently there were a number of problems which had to be worked out with both the refinery and the immigration authorities, and the masses of foreign and Aruban workers had lacked prior skills in operating in bureaucratic industrial settings. Some authors such as Hartog (1960) and van de Walle (1954) report a difficult period during which workers and management had to adapt to each other. "In the first days of this industrial activity the management could not understand laborers who were undisciplined anough to leave the factory as soon as it started to rain (van de Walle 1954:148).

Situations of the preceding and other types caused workers to be fired. Often mediation was necessary. Problems would arise with interpretations of immigration policy, for some workers were reportedly sent off the island for undue cause. These were important causal factors in the foundations of a number of the non-native ethnic organizations. At one time several of the Chinese sailors were shot in the Antilles (van de Walle 1954:155). To eliminate this type of problem, the Chinese association had as its function the offer of recreation for the crews and general workers, aiding in case of illness and emergency, and the settling of disputes between members if possible before the cases were brought to court. Within the club, there were always some individuals who could speak the local languages to serve as interpreters or representatives of members in times of difficulty. The interpretive and representative function of the association was of extreme importance during the first period of the refinery operations, particularly for certain of the non-Dutch associations, as most members were then unfamiliar with the local languages and customs. In addition to the quasi-legal and/or social services, the clubs offered opportunities for recreation and good fellowship for members. Numerous informants pointed to the lack of community services and facilities, particularly in Sint Nicolaas, during the early years. Many claim that at local parties in private homes, feelings against the foreigners could flare up if the local men became drunk, and some individuals were uncomfortable at the few available bars. Van de Walle, writing as late as 1954 (144) stated: "As a result of the American ideas, the white element plays a predominant part in these saloons (of Sint Nicolaas), although the real Arubans who have but little negro

blood in their veins certainly do not let themselves be crowded out." The clubs, then, offered facilities not only for the men, but also for their wives and children. In addition, some of the organizations felt some responsibility for improving communication between the place of origin and Aruba. For example, the Windward Islands Association was actually born out of an attempt to improve communication between the Leewards and the Windwards. The Windward Islanders were interested in purchasing a boat for such purposes and wished government assistance. The government preferred to deal with organized groups, and under such conditions the association got its impetus. It is felt that this government preference stimulated other groups to organize and become legal entities in order to be able to be heard officially on various issues. Informants mentioned the importance of a legal organization in times of crises in their area of origin. With the occurrence of natural disasters, the associations on Aruba would be able to obtain government permission to hold fund drives and otherwise make collections to be sent to the locality in question.

One important interest which informants continually mentioned was that of intellectual and social improvement. They often mentioned, "We want to improve ourselves." And some were anxious to hear lectures, debates, and discussions of new topics even if they did not actively participate themselves. In addition to general welfare, assistance to sick members, care of the dead, and in some instances intervention and representation of members when they were in trouble, the clubs offer cultural and social activities. The official names of some of these organizations reflect these goals as did the structure of their buildings, almost all

of which included a stage. Lectures, plays, mock courts, and discussions of various types were held. The Britishers, for example, state that their productions of Shakespeare were "quite successful".

The ethnic associations of the first sub-type have suffered recently for two reasons: (1) the loss of members after the Lago lay-off, and (2) there was a declining or different need. As Aruba built up and new friendships were made, the members followed their friends to other places, and residents are moving to different parts of the island. Therefore, in recent years, more clubs are including members of other ethnic groups. The Windward Islands Association has Surinamers and Curaçaleñan members, for example, and the Orquedia Club, which was an off-shoot of the Bonairian Club, has numerous Aruban as well as other non-Bonairian members, and one of the presidents was an "English". The associations of the second sub-type do not necessarily see themselves as "ethnic", but are thus considered by outsiders even though their membership may include fifteen to twenty percent outside members.

Local

Some of the native Aruban associations in the cunucu are primarily local in nature, as the activities are principally for those who live nearby. However, at present many of the outlying areas are still predominantly Aruban. With these conditions, as stated earlier, locality and ethnicity sometimes coincide. This was true in the past, but with the recent shift in residence patterns, the membership patterns began to shift also. One of the sports organizations considered "almost all native Aruban" did in fact have many members of other groups, primarily because the club remained in the same location while the surrounding areas

were built up and became mixed ethnically. The new sports enthusiasts of all groups started visiting the club and became members. In the local category there are many sports, youth, and church organizations. The last have begun to move toward a national classification with the reduction of members, and some associations have combined which means locality differences may be less sharp.

Professional

In this category are not only those such as the police and customs, but trade unions of various kinds, which imply a national base with respect to membership. However, in past years when the majority of police were from Holland and Curaçao, and the teachers from Holland and Surinam, these organizations were then closer to the ethnic classification, at least in the eyes of the general public. Informants have called the Police Club the "Dutchmen's Club". One small association, fighting to stay afloat, is ethnic in character, primarily due to its focus, the care of hair that is more Negroid in nature.

Associations classified as specific are those which have a definite aim such as the playing of chess, perfecting of radio techniques, interest in problems of mental health, charity and welfare work, assistance to the priests or ministers, collection of funds for the Queen's birthday activities, or economic improvement.

In the latter class, only one association is included. Susu groups, called Saam in Papiamentu, do exist; however, they are illegal. They are found among the native Arubans as well as among other Antilleans and West Indians, and may be "national" in membership. It seems the more

successful are run by women, as ". . . you can't trust men with money . . . those run by men always break up." But some report losing money even when they have been operated by a woman. These groups will not be included in the analysis below. One businessman reported "hands" or shares running from ten guilders per week to 5,000 guilders per month for some of the big businessmen.

General associations will be the term employed here for those which have a variety of interests or activities and include clubs that have recreational, athletic, and educational activities for all members of the family. Athletic club will be the designation for those which are primarily sports oriented, which give social functions primarily to raise funds for general upkeep.

Another group which was not categorized separately is the religious, which include 19 associations. This group may be divided into (a) those connected with the church and which have predominantly religious ends such as the Legion and the League of Mary and other men's and women's groups. In addition, however, there are (b) those which were church sponsored and still have a brother or a nun on the board but are general community, youth, or athletic clubs. In most instances, requirements for members of the associations in group (a) include church membership. Nevertheless, in several of the church groups this was not the case; simply an interest and willingness to work in the activities was essential.

In recent years there have been a series of post-adolescent youth organizations which have risen, flowered, and fallen. One located in a more conservative or isolated area of the island has survived over the

years and is still active and expanding. Several others were organized within the last two years, but only two seemed to be functioning. The primary leadership of these organizations comes from the teenagers and young adults themselves.

Another type of association included in the sample is the club consisting of couples who have been friends throughout the years. This type is primarily recreational and limits membership to compatible couples. The memberships cross-cut the occupational range. One includes persons with occupations of tradesmen as well as high island administrators. These clubs are primarily native Aruban. This points up one important basic factor regarding organizations on Aruba. Except possibly for the largest trade unions and some of the professional organizations, the majority of the associations were started from a nucleus of acquaintances, if not friends, who were interested in a given end, which in part accounts for the ethnic and locality emphasis.

Two charitable foundations included in the sample are also examples of a group of friends with a common concern getting together to give assistance. They meet primarily for welfare purposes and have no members beyond their immediate officers.

A final type of association is the sport "bond", of basketball, football, domino, or other type, which has some administrative and organizational functions in connection with arrangement of meets throughout the island.

Various types of interaction exist among all these associations. For example, the two elite general clubs compete in sports and games with the island athletic teams and the various ethnic associations through

their membership in given sport bonds or organizations such as football or basketball. Again this may be a partial reflection of island size, for although the associations often have competition with sister organizations in Curaçao, frequent trips of this nature were not feasible. Therefore, intergroup competition on the island is necessary and there are too few groups in one "class" or ethnic group to allow adequate play-off. The established ethnic associations generally have associated youth and women's groups that have occasional exchanges or visits for programs with other clubs. This is especially true during anniversary celebrations. The lodges also interact by sending representatives to anniversaries of different lodges. There is also interaction among the Protestant women's groups which are on approximately the same "class" level, although a given group's membership cuts across class lines internally. Thus religious women's clubs No. 2 and No. 3 work closely together and have interchanges, while No. 1 and No. 4 may have occasional interchanges. The elite associations, although participating in sports with all the members of a particular sport bond, have most of their interaction with each other; and one primary factor is that of overlapping membership. Officers of one elite club estimated that approximately fifty percent of their members belonged to the other elite social club. Evidently this arrangement works out well until Carnival time, when all the clubs are in competition for the prizes. At that point, the members who belong to both elite clubs work with the one of their first choice on the most important Carnival days, thereby indicating their primary loyalties. In addition, these members also belong to the more established and high status service clubs. It was noticed that throughout the structure

of the society, the associations are dependent, at least as far as administration is concerned, on a comparatively small nucleus of active supporters. Consequently, the interviewer was constantly encountering some of the same people at various meetings and social functions. The partial list of members' associational connections of eight associations shown in Figure 4 and Table 2 give some indications of the possible interrelationships of organizations on the island. Figure 5 presents a partial listing of individual membership in various associations for 37 informants. Figures 4 and 5, and Table 2, illustrate the pattern of overlapping, or more precisely "meshing" of membership which is prevalent on the island.

The types of activities sponsored by these associations cover a wide variety. Many of the ethnic organizations as well as general national clubs have been interested in the social and cultural life on the island and have sponsored foreign artists and lecturers for their members and the general public. It is interesting that in the past some of the "English" associations, mainly the British, even operated English "schools", conducting general classes plus offering lessons in shorthand and typing. Short clerical courses, leadership training, oratory, and "community development" skills have been offered in varying degrees by different associations down to the present time.

In addition to sponsoring the purely recreational activities for their members, the women's clubs also plan welfare projects, self-improvement courses, and useful household demonstrations. They also schedule lectures on varying subjects such as medical problems or marital relations by qualified speakers. The majority of these clubs were

Figure 4. Cross-relationships among eight associations.

This figure shows the "meshing" of partial associational membership for members of eight associations, three of which qualify as elite, two are relatively low status-wise, while only one is local.

Exterior (double) lines show interaction with other associations on the island, within the Antilles, and internationally.

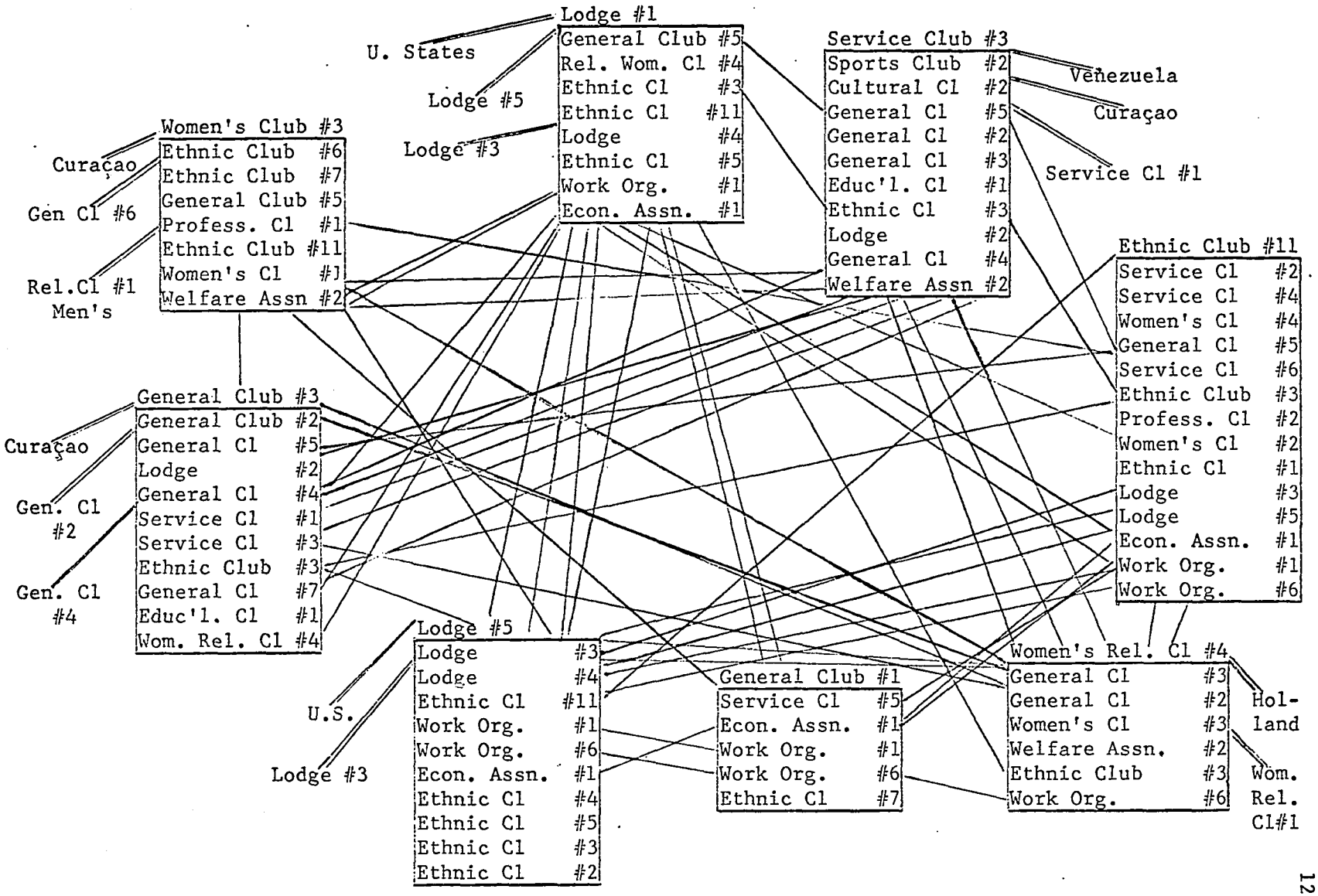

Figure 4. Cross-relationships among eight associations.

Table 2. Tabulated associational interrelationships based on Figure 4.

	Ethnic Cl #11	Gen'l Cl #1	Gen'l Cl #3	Lodge #1	Lodge #5	Serv. Cl #3	Woman's Cl #3	Wom. Rel. Cl #4
Cultural Club #2						x		
Economic Assn #1	x	x		x	x			
Educational Cl #1			x			x		
Ethnic Club #1	x							
Ethnic Club #2					x			
Ethnic Club #3	x		x	x	x	x		x
Ethnic Club #4					x			
Ethnic Club #5				x	x			
Ethnic Club #6							x	
Ethnic Club #7							x	
Ethnic Club #11				x	x		x	
General Club #2			x			x		x
General Club #3						x		x
General Club #4			x			x		
General Club #5	x		x	x		x	x	
General Club #6							x	
General Club #7		x	x					
Lodge #2			x			x		
Lodge #3	x				x			
Lodge #4				x	x			
Lodge #5	x							
Profess'l Club #1							x	
Profess'l Club #2	x							
Service Club #1			x					
Service Club #2	x							
Service Club #3			x					
Service Club #4	x							
Service Club #5		x						
Service Club #6	x							
Sports Club #2						x		
Welfare Assn #2						x	x	x
Woman's Club #1							x	
Woman's Club #2	x							
Woman's Club #3								x
Woman's Club #4	x		x	x				
Wom. Relig. Cl #4				x				
Work Organizat'n #1	x	x		x	x			
Work Organizat'n #6	x	x			x			x

Figure 5. Individual associational memberships for 37 informants.

This figure shows the "meshing" of partial associational memberships for 37 informants, adults, male and female, or varying ethnic backgrounds and social status.

Lines are drawn connecting some but not all of the individuals' associational relationships.

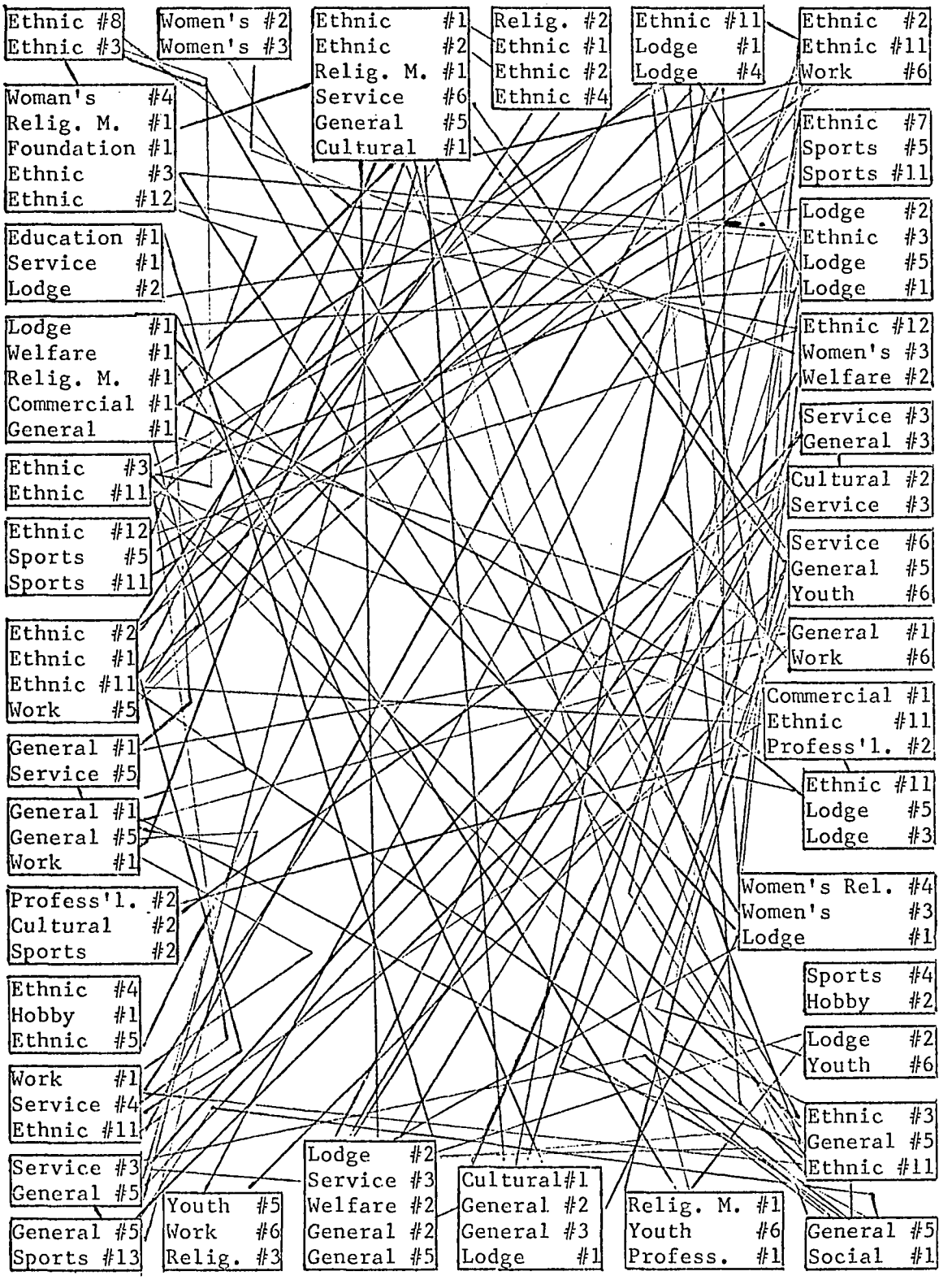

Figure 5. Individual associational memberships for 37 informants.

organized ". . . just to get a chance to get out of the house", ". . . to do something", or "to have some place to go".

The young adult groups, also organized to "have somewhere to go" and to have constructive activities, had in addition to recreational activities, tours, lectures, and general cultural evenings. It was through some of the youth clubs that boys received voice, dramatic, and musical training. One of the organizations under the direction of Catholic Freres is reportedly responsible for some of the first local attempts at dramatic reproductions in the Papiamentu language. The Frere in charge had ignored his colleagues' statements that Arubans do not like to sing or perform.

In the earlier years, most of the youth club activities were geared for boys. However, the Netherlands Girl Scouts have existed for 27 years with the addition of the Antillean Girl Scouts seven years ago.

The Role of Voluntary Associations

The role of the various associations in the life of Aruba can be glimpsed in some of the foregoing statements. It must be remembered that this was a small island which jumped from approximately 5,000 to 56,000 population within approximately 26 years. Chapter 2 reveals the situation of Aruba at the time of establishment of the refineries. Those services and recreational facilities that were available were located in Oranjestad. The government itself was pressed to keep abreast of many of the essential needs of the population in terms of water supply, roads, and the basic health and welfare services. It was the people themselves, through the medium of their associations, who went about satisfying some

of the needs for learning, mental stimulation, and "sane" relaxation for both adults and children.

In addition, the association allowed for a type of interaction above and beyond that which occurred on the job with co-workers and with the neighbors over the fence. It appears that much of the visiting between neighbors occurs across the fence or at the gate, not necessarily within each other's homes. During the various interclub exchanges, clubs travelled from one part of the island to another to play dominoes, basketball, and football (soccer), and like activities with other clubs. The organizations interacted over a wide area and later the people concerned generally formed varying types of interaction patterns with those within these other organizations, thus widening their own networks of social relations. Most of the athletic associations have had such intra-island contacts, and in addition a number have made trips to other islands and countries such as Bonaire, Venezuela, Colombia, and even Haiti and Cuba over the years. In return, they have played these teams at home. Participation in an array of internationally competitive activities has served not only to acquaint the other countries with the existence of the Antilles and Aruba, but it has served to broaden the Antilleans educationally, for these experiences involve interaction in environments which are similar in complexity if not of even larger scale and social field. It is recognized that this type of interaction may result in the operation of situational selection for a number of Antilleans which would differ from the situation of many of their forefathers who in the agricultural fields of other lands were in different interaction spheres. Nevertheless, little situational change was involved

due to the similarity in scale of the accepting areas. It is realized that there are instances in the world where situational changes do not necessarily result in later processive changes, as in West Africa (Mitchell 1966:55; Mayer 1961) and among southern rural migrants in urban areas of the United States. In other words, in the above instances, individuals or groups are able to adjust to varying urban and rural or tribal context by the operation of situational selection. These changes which result are therefore situational changes and do not necessarily evolve into changes in the overall social system or "processive" or historical change (Mitchell 1966:44). It is felt that where approximately half of the "responsible" adults are involved in situational change, upon returning to the home situation processive change can and will come about more rapidly, and with greater ease, given a freely operating situation where no coercion is involved from any external agent. Of course the operation of processive change will be slow without the presence of a vital external factor in cases where (a) a number of the younger members of a society have experienced situational change while the majority of elders have remained unexposed, or where (b) a number of miscellaneous individuals have experienced such changes, while the majority remained unexposed. These miscellaneous individuals, lacking power and prestige, would be found haphazardly throughout the society and would therefore have little coercive power.

In addition to the international interaction on the part of the sports clubs, there is considerable international contact between lodges, service clubs, scouts, and some of the church organizations. Indeed, in a number of instances, the impetus for organization was brought from

other countries. Workers who had been members of lodges in Santo Domingo, the British Islands, and Surinam made contacts to establish branches on Aruba. As mentioned earlier, several were started under the sponsorship of Curaçaleñan and Venezuelan associations. This type of historical relationship has resulted not only in written exchanges, but also in actual personal contacts throughout the years.

The ethnic associations often served to link the old and the new situations, plus aiding in interpreting factors in these situations which would allow for better adjustment in the new environment. The first instance involved serving as the vehicle through which governmental plans could be disseminated and interpreted to the members and those of the ethnic group in general. There is a feeling among some of the older members that the clubs represent the soil of the country itself. Officials and representatives from the place of origin would meet in the ethnic clubs for receptions and discussion when visiting the island. For example, within the last year, high Surinam governmental officials and the leader of the Bush-Negroes, together with Aruban dignitaries, appeared at the Surinam Club at a general reception which a cross-section of all Surinamers attended.

Older members of one of the associations complained that in the early days in Aruba much misunderstanding occurred between workers and the immigration and other officials. They stated that in some instances low level clerical workers in these offices would cause workers to leave the island with a cavalier attitude on very short notice, often in error. The workers soon learned to bring their grievances to their associations, where representatives would discuss the problems with the proper

officials and thus iron out the difficulties. The associations served to give moral and actual physical aid to the members or their families in emergencies and general family problems. One informant related:

> Our clubs help our people, those without jobs, etc. We have anniversary celebrations. You know one of the old members recently died . . . His son is big with a good job in his home country and his wife is there also . . . The son tried in vain to get him to go there four years ago, but he refused . . . He lived in a small hut, in back of one of the main streets . . . was 65. He went New Year's Eve to the club and was talking to his friends when he got sick, about 2:30 A.M. They called me to come to the club, big trouble . . . I went down there and my friend said 'here is all I have' . . . guilders /government money/, his watch, ring, identity card, etc., 'and if I die you send it to my wife.' So we counted it in presence of others and put it in an envelope, etc., and he went to hospital. We visited him there but he later died . . . now I have written to the family asking his correct name so I can send the money, etc. to them.

In addition, they offered recreational outlets. One member voiced the opinion expressed by various members of a number of other associations when he gave the following reasons for the founding of the club:

> We got it because we are not like the Aruban people . . . you sit down and drink with the Aruban people and then when they're drinking they start to fight . . . we don't like trouble . . . We have our club, so when we go inside once or twice a year to get drunk, we take him home or put him to bed, so he won't be out to be hit and robbed of his money or get into trouble with the police. We all together inside . . . members all . . . /i.e., own ethnic group/.

Another informant referred to the establishment and activities of his association as follows:

> Long ago they had a society which, when an 'X' died, his funeral expenses were taken care of . . . then later they got the club started around this activity. The club offers sports and /laughed/ the husbands have a place to spend their time . . . that is no joke, they have to have someplace . . . and it is a place for getting together of families of those from 'X' . . . When we were young this was the place where most of the 'X' friends would be found. /Asked if 'X' ever belonged to other clubs . . ./ No, 'X' stuck together until about -- years ago, when there was the trouble . . . the young group

> had taken over, they left and the older again took over. The younger establish 'Y' club which has more foreign members. The 'X' club here is connected with that of 'Y' and 'Z' (in other islands) . . . there is the business of burial insurance, which ties them to 'X's mostly . . .

Most associations tried to stimulate the members intellectually, also. Older members speak nostalgically of the days of lectures, mock trials, plays and variety shows sponsored by the associations. Most of the clubs had reading rooms of some sort, plus game rooms for billiards and other activities. The kitchens were generally open to serve home and Aruban delicacies to some of the workers who would spend the day in the club. One association ran a full-time kitchen so that the workers, generally bachelors, were able to get their native dishes at nominal fees. The need for this service diminished as families started to join the workers, as others married on the island, and as more facilities became available in the community. In effect, the associations supported and exercised some control over members similar to that of the family and community in the original home situation. Most of the ethnic associations as well as the lodges felt the responsibility to help chastise and counsel wayward members in an attempt to bring them around to "accepted" behavior. The lodges had more latitude in selection and could more effectively coerce an individual, but certain ethnic clubs had the stipulation that as long as a person was of their given ethnic group he had to be accepted and worked with. "You get stuck with them," explained one president. In addition, he could be expelled only after all else failed.

All the organizations whose members were primarily non-native pointed to the fact that during the early years when members lived in makeshift or very small houses -- even management workers in the colony --

the clubs served as places for large gatherings such as meetings, wedding receptions, birthday parties, and in a few of the earlier organizations, even wakes. Now this has changed, as many families can boast large yards or patios concreted or tiled for dancing.

Another role of the ethnic association was, in the words of several informants, "to hold" the group together because ". . . our ways are different . . ."

In the case of some of the sport and general associations, their role has been similar to that of the social center in rural community development programs. Here, depending on whether or not they were church run, local people worked out their own programs for the children of the neighborhood and frequently during the later years there has been participation in varying degrees by the women and girls in both sports and other purely recreational activities. In the sometimes isolative conservative community, the local association served as a "healthy" recreational outlet. Several informants pointed to this service in their attempting to combat a tendency towards "alcoholism" which can start early among boys in more isolated communities. The associations play an important role, as they are a source for the dissemination of possible innovations, due to various types of interchanges with non-local people as well as non-Arubans. A few of these organizations have sponsored tours around the island to places of interest. These associations also aid in bringing a degree of unity among the Aruban people themselves in the isolated areas where formerly they were reported to be exceedingly individualistic, even in very small communities.

Practically all of the associations perform some community service in emergencies such as the collection of funds or materials for assistance to destitute persons, both within the island and in other areas as evinced by their aid to Venezuelans during the last earthquake in Caracas. The service and women's clubs have welfare programs as an essential concern, either for the community as a whole or for their own membership in cases where religious groups are involved. Not only have organizations had projects where goods were distributed, such as benches at the bus stops and the installation of water coolers in schools, but also some of the associations have educational goals. These are many and varied, such as the establishment of a library (Hartog 1960:398), sale of fire extinguishers and distribution of fire prevention information, organization of United Nations sessions for high school students, leadership training and management seminars, and organization of a central clearing association for greater effectiveness in carrying out charitable operations.

In summary, the roles of the voluntary associations are manifold. The affiliations and interaction of the associations help create a wider network of social relations between persons in Aruba and other areas as well as between those of the different localities and ethnic groups within the island itself. The former are particularly important implications for the economy and political prestige of the island and they serve to broaden the general educational and intellectual perspective of the islanders as well.

It can be noted that voluntary associations on Aruba serve some of the same functions as those found in studies of the United States

(Warner and Srole 1945; Rose 1954:50-71) and West Africa (Little 1965: 85-90). They help the individual to relate to the general society, help him to learn how to interact in new situations, with people of other classes or groups, and serve to help individuals express their status in the community. Little states (1965:165) ". . . the significance of the associational network is that it involved not only a large number of individual relationships but the relationship of groups with differing interests and roles." Associations bridge the gap between the traditional, or foreign situation, and new or present industrialized situation, increase their members' knowledge of how to effectively assist themselves and augment their community services. In the case of non-Arubans, the clubs substituted in some sense for the family and kin group, as in West African instances, by taking over some of the functions of helping in emergencies, finding employment, paying passage back home for members, giving advice, and the solving of disputes between members.

However, in recent years the ethnic organizations as well as some of the lodges and church organizations have been in a state of flux, if not on the decline. The principal reason appears to be the retrenchment of Lago and repatriation of the masses of non-Aruban workers. One Antillean expressed his feelings thusly:

> Now Aruba is a rather hard place, but before it was a good place to live, had all the people here, had 44 nationalities, and some had friends who were even from Egypt, and others from Norway . . . and it was interesting . . . now everyone is leaving. [His wife said] . . . even the Arubans are leaving; that's what makes it bad . . .[Husband] Yes, because they don't believe in leaving . . . [discussed the difference in Curaçao and Aruba] The Curaçaleñans don't leave . . . and things don't upset them so. One thing about here, it is a small island . . . and if tomorrow Lago lays off 80, within no time everyone knows about it and it is all the talk everywhere you go and they start

> worrying . . . Not in Curaçao . . . they'd say so what . . . [asked why?] . . . they are like that. [Asked could it be that the Curaçaleñans had experienced more? The couple said] That is true . . . Aruba had been so isolated . . . and it's hard to know when you would be laid off, what to do with the house, and it was hard with all your friends gone. Now they have more night life with the hotels opening; it would have been nice if they could have had that in '52, when there wasn't much to do but go to the clubs . . . everyone had his club, and his friends would go there . . . Plenty 'Y's would be in the 'X' club all day because they liked what goes on there, but they belonged to their own . . . White X's would come to the club in periods, like if one of them was a member, then bring many of their friends and relatives around the club . . . and thus it goes; it depends on the activities.

There are other indications that certain types of organizations, particularly the ethnic, no longer meet the needs as the situation on the island has changed. Formerly there was a lack of activity, due to limited services and facilities on the island. Now official Dutch education has improved and several people run small private schools of differing quality. Luxury hotels and restaurants have appeared. A new cultural center has been established, which presents exhibits and plays in English, Dutch, and Papiamentu. In addition, television has dealt all the associations a blow. It was one fact mentioned by all types of associations, whether elite or at the bottom of the social ladder, as causing a decline in attendance. Some informants even mentioned that one could not schedule meetings for some of the service and other associations on days when "good" programs were scheduled because the people would not attend. This competing interest was definitely verified when the last episodes of the "Fugitive", a United States' television program, were shown. The streets, most bars, and general gathering places were deserted in both Aruba and Curaçao.

In the case of non-native ethnic organizations, there are added inhibiting factors: (1) the difficulties which were experienced earlier with Antillean officials no longer occur as often, and (2) the members have moved out of the old areas or formed other friendships and attachments so that the services of their ethnic associations are not as necessary. One club representative pointed out that when their association started out with a burial policy there were no insurance companies on the island. Now there are. (3) The last and most important factor from the point of view of interethnic relations, is the fact that (a) many of the younger people do not feel any obligation to keep the association going, or (b) if they do have interest, they want some change in the orientation of the organization. In both instances, the young people were either born in Aruba or reared there from early childhood, and thus identify with Aruba and not with their "home" island or country. Some, therefore, are not interested in association affairs, while others are fighting with the club elders to allow members of other ethnic groups to become general members. However, it is interesting to note that conflict between the generations is a general pattern running through the older associations. It was mentioned in the elite Aruban organizations as well as other general clubs, the younger members coming in do not have exactly the same orientation as the older; a number do not enjoy the same types of recreation, and internal problems can result. In some organizations the problems are more serious than in others. In one ethnic club, the elders simply stopped coming and supporting the organization, and in one the younger set split away to form another group. Several young people complained about the shift in their club which has taken place since

their youth. "It used to be a good place with lots of activities, but now it's mostly just a lot of old men sitting around gambling." However, on the whole, the Bestuur (officers) of the associations were often younger persons (14 to 45), and often the president especially was a young person.

The presence of the three factors mentioned, plus general repatriation, in certain instances resulted in a shift in the interests of members and in the quality of the leadership. When the associations were initially started, members were of all types, professionals and important businessmen included. Now in certain organizations, the activities are carried on mainly by "folk" types who reminisce about the good old days when ". . . plenty big people came here", that is, important people. One well qualified officer of one of these associations pointed out this factor, saying the organization could not do anything because the caliber of membership had dropped and as a result most of the time was spent in explanations. "It's the illiteracy. A lettered man can sometimes see your point, whereas with an unlettered man you have to belabor the point so that it becomes a line." There were other factors involved in this case, but quality of membership was primary. In other associations the type of leadership has remained the same as in the old days, and in one instance the leadership is now primarily college trained, a marked shift from the past. However, the latter club is still faltering due to a combination of the above three factors, the large debts inherited from the past, and personality and attitudinal conflicts between the officers and general members.

Summary

As can be seen from the data presented in this chapter, the "English" and the Arubans have the greater number of ethnic associations. However, ethnic in the latter case simply means that usually primarily Arubans have lived in a given locality and therefore the members are mainly of that group. At this point, the weakest associations are those of the Britishers, due primarily to the fact that the great majority of these workers have left the island, and secondly, as conditions on the island changed, that is, friendship patterns were broadened, recreational and social services were increased, the associations no longer were the primary satisfiers of these needs.

In addition, associations in general are now facing financial and membership problems due to the retrenchment of the refinery, and the competition from television and the big hotels.

The role of some of the associations has changed very little, as for example, certain of the religious, service, charity, and sports organizations. However, the ethnic associations which served primarily non-native Arubans has changed greatly for the reasons described above. At present ethnic associations are operating as one of the many alternatives for the members in terms of their recreational or social service needs. However, the organizations still stand in the background in case of emergencies, and they serve as a type of springboard or threshold from which members may enter and operate effectively in the total Aruban socio-cultural system. Although members of an ethnic group may be displeased because an association is going down, the edifice remains to testify to the days when it was a show place and members of other ethnic

groups used the premises for their affairs, thus engendering a certain pride. And it also serves to hold celebrations of the important national or religious holidays of their homelands. On these occasions, those belonging to a given ethnic group even though not members of the association appear to participate or observe the cultural if not the social events of the day. At one such occasion, the president said:

> This is the highest type of clientele that would come to the club, only on days like this. The rest of the time dances are generally of the 'lower element'. We have to be constantly watching to stop fights. At these shindigs, the youths do not fight; it is the older men or the adults.

CHAPTER 5

PATTERNS OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS; METHODS OF INTEGRATION

Africanists working in urban studies such as Mitchell (1966:54) have classified social relationships into three "types", which actually seem to refer to levels of or degrees of relationships. Mitchell (1966: 53) refers to: Structural, "where the norms are defined in terms of the role expectations of others, as for example in work situations and within various clubs and associations;" Categorical (that is, superficial and perfunctory); and Personal. The latter are the networks ". . . of personal links which individuals have built up around themselves . . ." The network as used by Barnes (1954) and Botts (1957) has been described as ". . . a series of relationships which an individual builds around himself on a personal basis" (Mitchell 1966:55). Personal relations are highly important on the island, especially among the native Arubans, and for this reason Antilleans generally emphasize the fact that Britishers and Surinamers may turn against friends in order to "get ahead".

Patterns of Interethnic Relations

Aruba appears to present a situation in which one enters the social system as a member of an ethnic group. This is an important part of an individual's identity. But there is an indication that the emphasis on ethnic groups might be primarily important in terms of categorical relationships. Mitchell (1966:53), in some way that is not yet

clear, views "ethnicity as a categorical type of relationship . . ." He mentions: "The significance of looking upon ethnicity as a categorical relationship in towns is that it enables us to appreciate more fully its role in urban social situations. Briefly, it operates as a way of simplifying or codifying behaviour in otherwise 'unstructured' situations."

It was noted that even in close personal relationships, individuals were given places of origin or nationality by those in intimate contact that were frequently wrong, which may indicate that Arubans do not pry into the personal affairs of others. One interesting example is a future mother-in-law who was actively pressing for a marriage. She stated that the family of the intended were Surinamers, when they were actually Venezuelans. As cases of this type appear to occur between close neighbors and friends, perhaps ethnicity is primarily important on the superficial or categorical level. The important actual divisions may be distinguished as native versus non-native, and those with Dutch "rights" versus the non-Dutch residents. Apparently there is less place for someone who is obviously not a native Aruban and who has no place else to claim.

In a sense the Arubans share the same feelings as other West Indians. Their islands are their countries, and the political groupings made by their European administrators have had little effect, while the recent attempts at confederacy among the various islands have appeared equally abstract to the "man in the street". A sophisticated man from Jamaica or Trinidad in the past might have referred to himself as a West Indian, but in general he considered himself a Jamaican or a Trinidadian. The "Antillean concept" among the Dutch West Indians, therefore, is

relatively new. It is usually used when a group of Antilleans find themselves studying together in Holland or attending conferences in other countries. Actually, it is only when they are outside that they can see or "feel" any similarities with other Antilleans, for until recently only in these situations have they been able to gain a major perspective for comparison.

As in other heterogeneous areas of the Caribbean, the patterns of interethnic relations are complex. The Arubans see themselves as a mixture of Indian and Dutch, but apparently some consider themselves little related to the Dutch culturally, preferring to look to Latin America. One of the leaders of a non-church sponsored social club, 'X', said:

> We felt we wanted our own for our children were learning the Dutch ways which aren't the Aruban ways. The X was coeducational, which was the Aruban way. We got together for the community was so divided, there was no communication; then we took girls too, for all the others were for boys only. There was resistance from the established groups. Our group didn't have the facilities, whereas the others got government support, help from Lago, etc., and they don't have to print folders, etc. They could simply say in class we're having such and such tonight.

He mentioned again their Dutch teaching and said:

> We are Aruban, more Latin. We go to their schools for 15 years and still upon return revert to the Latin ways, as those are our ways.

He felt they were stifled by the pressures from the "other groups". In certain respects, especially racially, the native Aruban population resembles the hispanicized Ladino or Mestizo of the Latin countries. However, culturally they have been "tempered" by Dutch influences. A number of Arubans point out that they are a cultural blend of three

influences: the Latin, the Dutch, and the American. Due to the limited numbers of slaves, they tend to gloss over the Negroid element which, indeed, in comparison to Curaçao, was minute. On the other hand, they were very proud of their Indian ancestry.

A number of Arubans, as well as non-natives, say that the Arubans "discriminate" against the black people. Once one informant laughingly stated that the Arubans

> are so against black people . . . Once there was a meeting of some kind and this dark man got up against whatever was being said and they took him to the police for disturbing the peace, for they said, 'Who is this black man? Hum! Who is he?' Then they didn't know what to say the next day for he was Aruban, yes, a black Aruban . . ."

Some native Arubans relate that there is discrimination "even among ourselves . . . There are places we can't go . . ." meaning the elite Aruban clubs. One Aruban informant voiced the opinion that had been stated by several when he said: "I don't know if they tell you or not, but we have forms of discrimination here, too . . . There are some clubs in Oranjestad that the other Aruban people don't go to . . . The island used to be very local, even Arubans did not go easily into other neighborhood clubs . . ." However, a majority stated that there is no discrimination on Aruba. "It's not like other places; we live in peace (tranquillo)." Non-Arubans are apt to focus on the fact that Arubans don't like "Black" people or "think they are White". Some observe that Arubans really "only like themselves, they don't like strangers; they are shy people". Many Arubans and non-Arubans believe that the Aruban is generally friendly "up to a point", but "they don't like mixing". Older informants mention that this feeling can come out particularly when the individuals are

under the influence of alcohol. One informant said that "when sober, they will give you the shirt off their backs but when drunk, they will insult you."

The fact is that the type of "discrimination" which exists is of a different type from that found in the United States or even in the British Islands. Persons who are actually phenotypically Negroid and quite dark themselves, including a few Aruban types, will speak in a derogatory way about "black people". It becomes evident that "black" becomes a sociological term, similar to the use of the term "Indian" in Latin America. There the individual who is physically and culturally Indian, upon donning the garb of the Mestizo and speaking Spanish and participating in the national culture, is no longer Indian but Mestizo. The Caribbean parallel is pointed to by M. G. Smith (1965a:64) when he states:

> Thus, in Jamaica for example, there is a set of expectations which define the behaviors of whites, browns, and blacks. In terms of these expectations, a white person whose behavior conforms more closely to that of the brown population is culturally brown. Similarly, a pure Negro may be culturally white or brown, which simply means that his behavior is analytically homologous with that distinguishing these color groups as cultural groups.

Smith distinguishes five relevant types of color: (1) phenotypical or outward racial appearance; (2) genealogical or biological status; (3) associational "in terms of the color of the person with whom he typically associates on terms of equality . . ."(Smith 1965a:61); (4) cultural or behavioral color ". . . the extent to which an individual's behavior conforms to the norms associated with one or another of the hierarchically ranked cultural traditions of the society" (Smith

1965a:63); (5) structural color, a more abstract category reflecting "the distributions and types of power authority, knowledge, and wealth, which together define and constitute the social framework" (Smith 1965a: 65), "Thus a black man, possessed of wealth and other structural criteria normally associated with the white population in such a scale is structurally white" (Smith 1965a:66).

"Black", therefore, may have numerous shades of meaning depending upon who uses the term. "Black people" frequently become those persons considered loud and uncouth who are located in Sint Nicolaas, for those who live outside of Sint Nicolaas, while those who are residents of Sint Nicolaas classify those who are located in a small area referred to as the "village" within Sint Nicolaas as black people. However, some of the dark Antilleans and West Indians (i.e., Britishers) include themselves when they discuss black people.

Various authors such as Tannenbaum (1947) and most recently Hoetink (1961) have distinguished between the racial situation and color attitudes of those Caribbean Islands colonized by northern Europeans versus those of the southern or Latin colonizers. Hoetink includes the deep south of the United States with the "sociological entity we call the Caribbean." The North Americans together with the Danes, Dutch, and English form his "North-west" European variant, while the Portuguese and Spanish form the Iberian element in his work, The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations. The French, having something of both forms, are situated in between.

Hoetink makes the astute observation that various North American authors find it difficult to detach themselves from the racial standards

of the United States and ". . . apply them uncritically to other societies." He points out the fact that in the United States no official distinction is made between Negroes and "colored", that is, those of mixed Negro and White descent. This is not the case generally in Latin American or Caribbean race relations. The authors who make no distinctions probably view the relative freedom of action of some of the coloreds in terms of the American concept of Negro which includes both groups. As a result, they report movements of the colored populations in terms of the movements of "Negroes", thereby equating the colored and the black populations of the foreign countries. In these instances the one has little to do with the movement of the other part of the population.

Three types of Segmentary (Plural) Societies have been distinguished by Hoetink (1967:101):

(1) the type in which there is no (group) mobility between the segments (for example, the Deep South of the United States);

(2) the type in which rise is only possible half-way towards the social position of the dominant segment on the basis of physical characteristics (for example, the British, French, and Dutch parts of the Caribbean);

(3) the type in which maximum social rise is possible by degrees; a group with the racial characteristics of the lowest segment can, through biological mingling, attain an intermediate social position in society, and a group with racially mixed characteristics can attain the dominant social position on the basis of its cultural heritage (for example, Brazil and the Spanish-speaking parts of the Caribbean).

Hoetink (1961:104) later states:

> In the first two the dominant segment maintains its social position by making vertical social mobility totally dependent on racial factors. In the third type, rise to the dominant segment is in principle possible for a racially mixed group which is culturally acceptable; this type permits a circumscribed step-by-step ascent to the top.

He points out that the attitudes of the colored to the blacks differ in these two situations. In the situation where vertical social mobility is thwarted, the attitudes of the colored will be resentment and antagonism towards the blacks, in the latter instance relations would be more amicable.

Two things become clear in his study. One is that the research was done prior to 1962, and was based on comparative materials published prior to and including 1960, such as Henriques' Family and Colour in Jamaica published in 1953. Hoetink points out that although his main theses remain unchanged, he ". . . might today give a different formulation to some of the discussions . . ." (1967:xii). It seems that the arguments and explanations hold primarily for the period prior to 1960. It is felt that the seeds of independence spread in the 1950's in the Caribbean and in Africa began to bear fruit in the mid 1960's after it was seen that the various governments could continue to operate in some form under local and often black and colored administrations. Therefore new patterns and attitudes arise between groups in response to a general nationalism. The second point is the fact that consideration of the Dutch Islands seemed to have been based primarily in terms of the Windwards and Curaçao, and less in terms of Bonaire and Aruba. Contrary to the quote as cited above in which Dutch Islands were grouped under type 2, Aruba belongs to the third. This is no doubt due to its earlier isolation from Holland, with continued and primary contact with the mainland of South America. In contrast, the contacts with Holland were sporadic and secondary. Often the Dutch persons came to Aruba after first having stopped in Curaçao.

Consequently the racial attitudes in Aruba compared to those of Curaçao (Paula 1967), the British and French islands, appeared to be rather lenient in 1967-1968 when the research was conducted. In Aruba the prejudice seems to be less of "origin" (i.e., the genealogy) than of "mark" (i.e., the appearance) (Hoetink 1967:53). In short, the terms utilized by Smith as to association, cultural, and structural color would definitely apply. This does not mean to say that color feeling is absent there. Previous statements indicate that this is not so. For example, one of the claims against the inhabitants of Savaneta was that they felt themselves better than Arubans of other areas, due to the fact that there were more European phenotypes in this locality as a result of their earlier history. The more European appearing Arubans predominate in the higher or elite circles as a result of the colonial Dutch ancestry. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that at least one rather obviously colored "foreign" family has been a member of the elite organizations practically since their inception.

The native Aruban appears to operate in terms of that which is familiar -- on the basis of friendship or personal relationships. Some of the general and athletic associations seem to be primarily Aruban as they happen to be organized around, or serve, a particular locality, and many have members of other ethnic groups if the latter happen to live in the areas. However, one old "Aruban" association is only now becoming a "local" team because formerly there were fewer teams, which meant that devotees travelled long distances to play with this team. The officers report many local areas now have their own teams, so their club presently serves only their neighborhood, essentially.

Within recent years long time residents of the island who were non-Arubans have moved from the Sint Nicolaas area to outlying areas. One native Aruban wanted to know why the darker non-Arubans tended to move in groups to different areas. The problem apparently lies in their visibility, and also in the feeling that there is safety in numbers which stems from past experiences, primarily of a social nature, on the part of the young. Many mention going to dances in Santa Cruz or Oranjestad and having to fight afterwards. Therefore the Sint Nicolaas boys reportedly started to go in groups, whereupon they would beat up the others whenever they came to Sint Nicolaas.

As previously stated, a definite localistic or provincial attitude prevailed between the different sections of the islands. Dutch informants stated that the same type of attitudes prevailed in parts of Holland until approximately the 1940's. Intertown rivalries sometimes resulted in fights between rival teams or their supporters after games and in similar situations. The more isolated Arubans exhibited this tendency until recently. In fact a native Aruban explained that a particular job connection allowed him to move freely throughout the bars and places for socializing without any trouble. This was not the case for a number of non-Arubans. No doubt the instances have been magnified with each telling, but native Aruban informants verify such occurrences even when they themselves were out of their own localities. The non-colored foreigners explain the situation in terms of the Arubans not liking foreigners: ". . . they are clannish" and "only like their own people." The darker complexioned foreigners view the situation with a

colored lens and state "the Arubans don't like dark people". There are numerous instances where Aruban parents have opposed marriages of dark non-Arubans, giving color as a basis, even to the point of asking the intervention of priests in such cases. But at the same time a number of these marriages have occurred. In addition, Arubans frequently obstruct marriages of their children even to other Arubans. Some of the darker non-Arubans say that when the native Arubans have married out of their group, they tended to marry those ". . . who look most like themselves". Otherwise the individual must have a good position, be well educated, or have money. In the discussion of interrelations, it was discovered that answers varied depending on the ages of the informants, and there was frequently a huge discrepancy between the verbalized norm and the actual observed behavior. The important thing to remember is that in Aruba, race or color is often discussed, stereotypes advanced, but in both public and private behavior there seems to be a high degree of unselfconscious, free flowing interaction in all spheres of life.

In considering relationships on the island, the data seem to indicate that there is a definite difference between the patterns in Sint Nicolaas and those of Oranjestad. Sint Nicolaas has the bulk of the non-native population. In fact some Arubans from Noord, Oranjestad, and the other areas often say "no Arubans live there". This is, of course, false. A number of native Aruban families still live on their family plots, with relatives within easy walking distances as a result of the old pattern of children building their homes near the parental house. Throughout the years parts of land have been sold or rented to "strangers" and as a result there is a general conglomeration of ethnic groups

within most sections. Neighborhoods like Lago, Esso, and Standardville include cottages of ex-Lago workers, many of whom later purchased these homes. Here, too, there are both Arubans and non-Arubans living side by side.

The old "city" area or the place where the first makeshift huts were constructed when the factory was started is still in existence. Although a number of the original huts were torn down and new structures of varying types rebuilt, the area still gives the impression of a shantytown and is considered the local slum, an eyesore or blot on the island character. In comparison to some slums in other islands such as Trinidad, and the "el Fanguito" types along the drainage canals of San Juan and Santurce in Puerto Rico, the greater portion of this area -- called the "village" -- is rather neat though unpainted. However, in comparison with the general island neatness, it is startlingly unkempt.

In the early days representatives of all the groups could be found in the "village". At present a number of "English", with a majority of Windward Islanders, a few Surinamers, Curaçalenans, and Latins live in the area. It is close to the main street of Sint Nicolaas and quite a few of the Latin prostitutes have their apartments or rooms in the area. Here one finds the center of the local numbers game. The lottery tickets are sold openly by primarily "English", but also by a number of elderly Aruban ladies. The game is played by all, of course, and has runners or home collectors of all ethnic groups except possibly the Dutch and the American.

Within this area can be found the range of variations which typify many slums. There are a number of "respectable" legal families

and single persons, stable common-law relationships, as well as the local degenerates and outcasts. Some of the rentals are as high as those outside the "village" and others are even higher. Many own their own homes. Here some families have the long cars, 1000-guilder furniture sets, expensive clothing and the general electrical appliances such as radios and television. One of the Windward Islanders who does charity work in the area said, ". . . they are not all really poor, you know." This individual reported that a Dutch woman commented on the fact that the Antillean concept of poor differed somewhat from the Dutch. In Holland when a person was poor, he had only the bare necessities. In this case, Antillean and big city United States standards seem similar. "Poor" does not always mean that money does not pass through their hands, for the broken down television sets (bought new), expensive clothes rolled up in corners of the homes, lavish food bills and liquor parties give evidence of the fact that money comes in. It is that the funds which do come into the household are often not used for the types of items and in the similar way of the low income non-slum dwellers. This indicates that this small "slum" area also contains the two types of poor found frequently residing in close proximity. There are those who are simply poor and without means, and others who belong to the "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1966, 1968). This combination of poor and those belonging to the "culture of poverty" are known for Puerto Rico and the United States; however, Lewis (1968:19) states:

> The concept of a cross-societal subculture of poverty enables us to see that many of the problems we think of as distinctively our own or as distinctively Negro Problems (or as those of any other special racial or ethnic group) also exist in countries where there are no distinct ethnic

> minority groups. This concept also suggests that the elimination of physical poverty per se may not eliminate the culture of poverty, which is a whole way of life.

On the other hand, some of the families were never poor or deprived, but they choose to live in the village. One reason that many cling to the village is that they view their stay in Aruba as temporary. This variety is also characteristic of the slums of the United States and Puerto Rico, although it is not generally understood by outsiders. The Aruban social workers are all aware of this phenomenon; however, they cannot understand it. That which most gives the impression of poverty is the apparent preference of the residents for living in often tiny, makeshift houses, very close to each other, which differ sharply from the Aruban pattern of a yard surrounding the house. Some even own expensive houses in other neighborhoods which they rent out while continuing to live in the cramped village. Another aspect of the life which is generally criticized by those living outside the area is the fact that a number of persons in the village have a pattern of simply "living" (i.e., together) and not marrying at the beginning of their conjugal relationships, while others have a string of illegitimate children by different partners. Some parents of respected citizens married, that is, made "Christian" marriages, after the children were adolescents or even older, in keeping with the general lower class West Indian patterns that have been reported by a number of students (M. G. Smith 1962; R. T. Smith 1956).

The general public has no idea of the variation existing within the village and indeed those not from the surrounding area generalize from the village to the whole town of Sint Nicolaas. Part of this stems

from the fact that at one time the whole town was called the village. Even writers (Hochstuhl N.D.) have contributed to this general misunderstanding by speaking as though only the "inner village" existed in Sint Nicolaas. As a result, families both Aruban and non-Aruban tend to shy away from the general area unless they come to shop or for "vicios" (i.e., vice), including visits to the Latin prostitutes. During the boom days, Sint Nicolaas was a much more bustling and cosmopolitan center than Oranjestad. Even now Greek and Scandinavian music may be heard drifting out of the doors of the local bars, while street conversations may be heard in a variety of dialects and languages.

As Lago is situated nearby, and the majority of the "English" are located in Sint Nicolaas, the influence of the English language is rather great. Children from non-English speaking homes, including native Arubans, can be heard speaking creole English to their friends although they may be able to speak the proper English learned in school just as well. In the past the "English" speakers frequently did not learn Papiamentu unless they moved to or started school in Oranjestad. At present, Papiamentu is being spoken more frequently by the children. On the other hand, "English" children in the past, reared in Dakota and the other areas around Oranjestad, spoke Papiamentu and Dutch in preference to English, and as a result there are a number of young people, 26 to 27 years old of "English" families, that have their intimate discussions in Papiamentu and theoretical or business discussions in Dutch. A further complication is that a number of children from British Islands like Dominica, St. Lucia, and Carriacou where French patois is the home

language, are comparatively poor in English. A few speak with "foreign" accents and use either Papiamentu or Dutch to express themselves fluently.

There is a general feeling about Oranjestad or "Playa". Those living in this area seem to feel that all the necessities of life are found therein and rarely venture out. This attitude is resented by those of the other areas. One Dutch official of a general club in one of the outlying areas said that those from Playa generally feel their teams are always better than those from the outer areas. Resentment resulting from this attitude frequently arises around Carnival time. The bands, floats, and groups from other areas generally go to Playa, but the latter seldom reciprocate. Here, too, possible explanations lie in the past. Formerly, only the capital had adequate facilities. In addition, observation indicates that "rowdy" elements of the "village", that is, "those local bad children", can be quite vocal. Once there was an unpleasant episode during the crowning of a queen with the result that such activities have never taken place again in Sint Nicolaas. However, during the last Carnival, many of the spectators and a few floats from the Stad came to Sint Nicolaas. Nevertheless, the resentment was still present. The resentment of the Oranjestad attitude is not limited only to those in Sint Nicolaas. It is rather common knowledge and was also expressed in Savaneta, the old elite center. The feeling is also not necessarily racial or cultural. Boys claim that when they go to public dances in Playa even non-Aruban girls may refuse to dance with them. These same girls may come to affairs in Sint

Nicolaas, and there the girls will dance but the boys are sometimes annoyed and refuse to ask them.

This hesitancy on the part of many persons of the Stad to participate in activities scheduled in Sint Nicolaas has resulted in the failure of a few association projects in the past. In one instance. attendance dropped so that reorganization of the association was necessary.

Public attitudes are changing. Dark young men of various ethnic groups who have returned to the island after years abroad mention that fact. One stated, "Now you might speak to a real Aruban and she might answer and look at you. Seven to ten years ago she wouldn't look at you and you might have to try seven or eight times before she would insult you and then finally talk."

As a result of the residence patterns, foreigners may live in some areas of Sint Nicolaas for years without necessarily knowing "real Arubans" because there are so many foreigners and members of their own groups with whom they may interact. But the Arubans in the area become versatile as a result of a variety of contacts with the "strangers". In Playa the opposite occurred in the past. The strangers generally became acculturated more rapidly to Aruban language and culture while the native Arubans had less contact with the differing cultural groups as such. This means there is differential acculturation and culture contact according to areas within the island. These effects are becoming less important with the younger generations attending schools, belonging to the same clubs and with the same shift in residence patterns mentioned earlier.

The individualistic, basically democratic, "live and let live", and isolative attitude of the native Arubans makes it difficult to see how the class system operates. Although Hoetink has classed the Dutch and the British systems together at one end of a continuum in Caribbean race relations, it would appear that Dutch and British color and class discrimination vary greatly. Although it is realized that class is more important in Curaçao where there is greater Dutch influence, the Dutch lines do not seem to be as sharply drawn, or are differently drawn, from the British. Admittedly, class problems were not the focus of the study; however, during the collection of data it was difficult to discuss class per se with most of the Dutch and Antilleans. This was perhaps because of the use of different criteria. Those venturing to discuss the matter were adamant that class divisions did exist in Holland, but claimed the discrimination was not on the basis of color but rather on individual attributes and values, education and position. An informant of British descent stated:

> The British are more status conscious than the Dutch . . . this is recognized on the continent. But in Holland there are two types of upper class, those who have money but no civilization and the true upper with civilization, for there are some with no money but inner class, where the children become doctors and lawyers, and they are kinder to people. They have feelings of higher standards . . . I don't like the English as they have moral discrimination . . . In England you talk to them and they ignore you as if you didn't exist . . .

This is an area which needs investigation. The islanders point to the presence of the Americans, who have rather blurred class lines, when they discuss the difference in class structure between Aruba and Curaçao. The few comments that were received indicated that class lines were not necessarily drawn along the lines of wealth. That is, sudden

wealth by lottery wins or from contraband activities would not make one acceptable for membership in an elite association. However, one with elite family connections engaging in contraband might be admitted. Due to the paucity of wealth in the earlier years, "class" divisions appear to have depended more on interests, general behavior, and family standards. With the availability of steady income these families were able to follow their interests, educate their children, and improve their homes. Others with the same opportunities and earnings, but different values, are primarily still in the same situations as when they started.

Mechanisms of Integration

Societal Integration

Haas, in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968:522), has defined integration as ". . . a process whereby the quality of relations among autonomous social units (kinship groups, tribes, cities, trade unions, trade associations, political parties) changes in such a way as to erode the autonomy of each and make it a part of a larger aggregate." For the purposes of this study, integration was defined simply as the way in which these distinct groups with their inner variations were articulated with or combined to constitute part of the island society. And the patterns of interaction, which Parsons (1968:20) calls ". . . a type of process characteristic of social systems . . ." were observed in order to determine possible points and the degree of articulation.

This does not mean to imply that interaction equals integration, simply that it is one of the relevant factors involved in integration.

Hanrieder (1968:529) considers interaction, interdependence, and interpenetration as processes relevant to integration and he states (1968:530) ". . . it can by no means be taken for granted that increasing interaction, even if coupled with interdependence, must necessarily lead to ensuing processes of integration."

It is noted that the Aruban situation differs from those studied by scholars such as Eisenstadt in Israel. It is important to note that the workers who came to Aruba came primarily with the idea of returning to their homelands or continuing elsewhere. Many migrants in other parts of the world have had similar intentions; for example, a number of Europeans going to the United States or to Latin America planned to make their fortunes and return. Others went to the new countries with the idea of building homes for their descendants. In Aruba it must be remembered that the official immigration policy was and continued to be such that few could enter with the idea of settling on the island permanently. Their past problems with droughts and resulting famine, and lack of employment for the native Aruban, appear to have made the officials quite chary. The wisdom of this policy is hard to doubt in view of the facts that the Aruban pay scale and physical standard of living were among the highest in the Caribbean and they were surrounded by poorer, heavily populated islands in addition to poorer countries on the mainland. So even during the boom days the official position was not one of enticing these migrants to stay. An attempt was made to get non-Dutch women bearing illegitimate children off the island prior to their birth, although the mother might return to work in Aruba thereafter. The cautious policies are especially in effect now that there is limited

employment even for native Arubans. Non-natives of all backgrounds, including Dutch, say that no matter how long you live on the island, Arubans have a little way every now and then of reminding you that you "don't really belong". Others say that now the Aruban is simply recognizing his rights and is stepping to the fore from the obscure background where he had drawn into his shell.

In the early days there was a situation somewhat similar to that in Malaya where the natives in general made up the elite and the lower classes. "Strangers" held important posts throughout the system. A few instances are reported in which some individuals taunted or held a superior attitude toward the natives based on their shyness, lack of ability and exposure, and the fact that they often held less skilled jobs. In cases of this kind, the shy native would retreat further while his resentment of the state of affairs built up. Therefore in later years a political party could evolve with a unifying plea in native Aruban terms of "Aruba for the Arubans -- out with the Foreigners." However, many of the educated Arubans recognized that an immediate exodus of all the strangers would leave them in a ghastly plight, as sufficient native Arubans are not yet trained for the variety of posts which the non-natives held, although this situation is being remedied.

In terms of actual mechanisms of integration, Service (1962:181) has stated that there seem to be rather few ". . . qualitatively distinct means of integration . . . in human society." These are basically:

(a) familistic bonds of kinship and marriage

(b) pan-tribal sodalities

(c) specialization, redistribution, and the related centralization of authority

(d) the state, further integrated by a bureaucracy employing legal force

(e) an industrial society integrated not only by a state apparatus but also by a complex network of specialized interdependent occupations.

For the purposes of this study an adaptation will be made of the preceding basic mechanisms: (a) will remain the same, that is, bonds of kinship and marriage; (b) will be considered in terms of voluntary associations; (c) will be considered in terms of general specialization in employment and religion; (d) bureaucratic operations, such as the police, education, and immigration departments; and (e) the influence of the refinery and the resulting "complex network of specialized interdependent occupations." In addition, the integrative effects of language and "national" culture (that is, national patterns) will be considered. The latter will consist of "Those portions or aspects of culture that function on a national level" (Steward 1955:64), some of which are included in (d) and (e).

Language as an Integrative Factor

Language is one of the most important integrating factors in Aruba. General language use on the island operates so that language does not encourage isolation, as in areas like Canada, for example. The different ethnic groups speak a variety of languages. The overseas members of the Kingdom of the Netherlands use Dutch as an official language; however, a majority of the nationals customarily speak other languages. The Windward Islanders speak standard English and the Anglo-patois or creole English, of the predominantly folk population. The ABC's speak Papiamentu, a mixture of Spanish, Dutch, and English, with a Portuguese

intonation, while in Surinam the major integrative language other than Dutch is "Negro English" or Sranang Tongo. Persons of Javanese, Hindu, and Chinese extraction may also speak various dialects of their own languages (van Assenderp 1957). The Britishers speak Anglo and French patois, depending on their islands. Trinidadians have both patois among the folk and lower classes, while standard English is the official language. The French, like the Britishers, speak patois and, depending on their education and family orientation, French. No variation from standard Spanish was noted among the Spanish speakers.

During the early 1920's, the official languages in Aruba were Papiamentu and Dutch. Few of the non-elite were acquainted with the latter; however, there was considerable familiarity with the Spanish language. After the refineries were installed, English became an important language in terms of employment. In view of the fact that English was the language of Lago and the Windward Islanders, a third "official" language came into use for government announcements and official statements. Important announcements are given in all three.

At present with the proliferation of radio and television throughout the island, there is an even greater degree of intercommunication than was previously possible. Programs and advertisements are given in all languages. For example, it is possible for a Spanish program to have English, Dutch, and Papiamentu announcements simply depending on the products used or the fancy of the merchants involved. One merchant uses Chinese background music while the sales announcements are in Papiamentu and English.

There is a tendency for those of the ABC's or Latins to concentrate on Papiamentu and Spanish language programming, in contrast to either the Dutch programs, which are limited, or the English. The soap opera's "Derecho de Nacer" and the American forms such as "Secret Storm" both have their publics, and of course some families listen to both. Arubans who had been oriented to Spanish enlarged their repertoire to include English. In addition, a number of Arubans trained at the Lago Training School speak English almost without "foreign" accents. With the increase in the number of schools and in attendance, more languages including Spanish, English, French, and German were taught. As a result informants say you can no longer talk in front of Arubans and have them not understand. As the non-Arubans have entered the school system, they, too, have been exposed to Dutch, and, depending on their locality, Papiamentu, which lays the basis for general intercommunication.

One of the problems surrounding Papiamentu is its past condemnation by the "classicists" of the Dutch and Aruban public as a "dialect". Non-nationalistic people of varying education, both Aruban and non-Aruban, quickly impart this information to visitors. One well-educated informant said that Papiamentu had no provision for "good, better, best", which it definitely has, as is clearly outlined in the Papiamentu grammar (Goilo:1962). The important point is that Papiamentu was never really taught in schools, except possibly some Catholic schools where improvised textbooks were available, so that it is extremely variable as to written form. Many of the older educated persons write letters in Dutch or Spanish, or even English, although they would be likely to speak to the same person in Papiamentu. Younger people write also in

a variety of languages. One letter may be written in several languages.

Language use varies with the ages and education of those involved. A number of the more multi-lingual individuals ask, "Why learn Dutch when there are so many more widely used languages available?" Such a viewpoint appears to stem from their ideas of practicality. These individuals then proceed to practice speaking the language of the person concerned. This is in contrast to the attitude of numerous speakers of French and English. It was noticed that many Antilleans who have not been to Holland resist the use of Dutch. It was also observed that the Aruban singers primarily use Spanish, secondarily Papiamentu, and tend to have the attitude that Dutch is not well adapted to singing. However, some native Aruban poets often compose in Spanish or Dutch and find it hard to think in terms of Papiamentu. Part of the language problem for native speakers of languages other than Dutch is that instruction and thinking is in Dutch on all the higher levels. In most of the ordinary homes, discussion in the native languages are on mundane levels. More academic, political, or esthetic discussions, if ever engaged in, were usually in the Dutch language. Therefore, there was a lack of vocabulary for many of the more abstract Papiamentu or English terms. One of the Britishers mentioned that the Windward Islanders consider this a problem, stating: "They are Dutch and all Windward Island children feel backward because they have no real language . . . it keeps you feeling backward . . . speaking English but thinking Dutch . . . and the English is not as fluent." It is doubtful that many Windward Islanders feel they have no real language, but it is evident

that a number are better prepared to converse on more abstract and scholarly levels in Dutch. The same is true for many native Papiamentu speakers. At present, in keeping with the current feeling of nationalism, Papiamentu has a more secure position among the younger educated persons.

The Arubans resent the fact that some of the older non-native residents have lived on the island for years and never learned the Papiamentu, which they assure everyone is easy. The English and Americans, less frequently the Spanish, often come under their censure for living ten to twenty years on the island with almost no grasp of the language. Younger Antilleans tend to regard it as a definite lack of education to be unable to speak or use other languages in some effective way, and tend to regard the Spanish speakers as being particularly limited. They generally have less contact with Americans, who often fall in this same category. One teacher, writing in a teachers' association bulletin, mentioned the possibility that there were two types of teachers on the island: "tourist teachers", those who took little interest in the cultural backgrounds of the Aruban population in order to better understand the children, and those who were interested in the total student and attempted to learn the local language.

Marriage and Kinship as Integrative Factors

An attempt was made to obtain census figures on the rate of non-Aruban to Aruban marriages, but this idea was abandoned in view of the fact that such material is kept in terms only of birth on the island, which would include persons ethnically non-Aruban. Consequently, it was felt such data are almost valueless for the present study. It is

recognized that a majority of the migrants to Aruba were bachelors. After the repatriation of workers, a proportionately large percentage of foreign, and especially older, women remain (Hawley 1960). This may be explained by the fact that they often were employed as domestics which are still needed.

In the early years the presence of such a large number of bachelors in the prime of life resulted in assorted types of liaisons and legal marriages occurring in varying degrees between all the groups, with the exception of the Americans, who were securely insulated in their colony at the far end of the island. The children of these contacts are now much in evidence, the oldest in their early 30's. For example, although a few Chinese sent home for wives, a large number married younger Aruban girls and stayed on the island to operate small businesses. In these instances, the children speak Papiamentu and Dutch. In addition, Chinese men married women from various other islands, both Antillean and British. Frequently French and Dutch persons from St. Martin intermarried. Intermarriages among the non-natives is also quite prevalent, as well as progeny from non-legal liaisons.

Native Arubans of all ages report that the elders preferred marriages among persons of their immediate locality, and resisted marriages with "strangers", that is, even native Arubans who were from distant areas. Several informants laughingly mentioned the fact that members of a small inbred community now marry those from other local areas, and "even Surinamers". They also go to live in town these days. One Aruban woman of mixed Indian-Dutch descent said that long ago Arubans married only Arubans, "but now Arubans marry 'Chinee', Surinamer, English,

American, French . . . now they marry everything." The one group they seem to intermarry and intermingle with most freely is the Venezuelan. Although there is apparently friction with the Curaçaleñans, there are a number of Aruban-Curaçaleñan marriages. There are also a number of Britishers married to native Arubans. Individuals who have become interested in operating within the Aruban framework find this particularly effective, as then there is no question of the continued residence on the island. One informant related:

> A lot of B.W.I. take Aruban girls for wives, but there are many reasons . . . one is they don't want to go back home, and with an Aruban, they have a certain feeling of security and prestige with their friends because you know it's hard to get an Aruban wife. You know the Arubans discriminate . . . most that I know with Aruban wives have Aruban features, so that they resemble them, they are not black West Indians . . .

Although the British are equally as color conscious as the Arubans, a number value "culture" very highly, and in the past felt that the ordinary native Aruban had not been sufficiently exposed culturally, were "not too clever", that they lacked interest and initiative in "getting ahead", whereas they preferred "forward looking" wives. However, the Britishers are not interested in marrying British West Indians directly from the Islands either, as Windward Islanders and Britishers educated here feel better educated than those in the British Islands, and they have Dutch rights, the latter, of course, being of tremendous importance. It appears the Aruban women most often married out on the local level; however, of those going to Holland, the males more frequently married out. This happens to such an extent among those going to study that it is a subject of controversy among the general population. This pertains not only to the native Arubans, but the members of all the ethnic groups who

go abroad. The girls generally return unmarried, while the boys take Dutch or foreign wives. One contributing factor has been that in the past the levels of social opportunities, as for example club participation, have not been equal, even on a primary basis, for girls.

Even where clubs existed, their facilities were often not open to girls, the majority of whom were taught to focus on house and children as their main and primary concern. The young educated therefore complain that the Antillean girls do not know how to serve; always want dresses; are unable to run an efficient, economical home; and are limited conversationally. Their fellow female students and male Dutch informants tend to admit a few of their complaints about Antilleans, but point out often the student or workers marry "dumb" but "blonde" women who "may know how to save money but nothing else." Some complained that the girls were often "mute", that is, unable to speak any other language but Dutch. Several pointed out that Antilleans married to Antilleans can never save, according to popular opinion, but an Antillean man or woman with a Dutch spouse can operate efficiently. A number of islanders, including native Arubans, mentioned that in Holland the boys rarely see Antillean girls. One Antillean stated that there are

> feelings against marrying those with less education . . . girls coming from Holland have no one to marry . . . it would be well balanced if they married macambas, but they don't. [Why?] . . . the macambas are slack, no fire (sexually, not ardent) . . . They don't dance the way we do, and don't have the jokes we do; their jokes are rather childish to us so the girls don't like them . . . Most of the marriages don't last long; when they come here they get troubles . . . The girls can't live the Antillean way, soon as she gets here she wants a big house, and there is the problem here the Dutch and the Antilleans are apart. She goes here and wants to still be with the Dutch, and live high class . . . I know of one case where it worked out and the girl came on the Antillean side; she took the Antillean part. In Holland there are no such problems and the marriages

> are ok. If I were to stay in Holland I would marry a Dutch girl . . . They can run the house efficiently, make good wives. They can run a house better than Antillean girls. Dutchmen used to be something here, something in the Antilles . . . if you get a Dutch one you get a little higher [i.e., socially]. Most of the Antilleans marry girls in the lower class. I know one fellow, well educated, he married this girl with some children who was unmarried, asked him why and he said, 'She was good to me' . . . Sometimes they are working in a store and get an engineer. Then they come here and play the part because here no one knows . . . Those Dutch girls are glad to get Antillean boys; they know they would have a much better life here than there . . . But then the Antilleans accept more from you [philandering] . . . Dutch girls don't take that.

Another Antillean informant seemed to view the situation more from the color point of view and stated:

> In the old days Antilleans had different reasons to give for marrying White women; now the younger Antillean rationalizes, says as he is surrounded by them while studying, it is logical that he will marry one, but the proof is the fact that they have different standards for the Dutch versus the Antillean girls, with the Dutch he accepts any past sexual behavior, Antilleans must be virtuous. With a Dutch wife he buys a small car, with an Antillean a large one; with Dutch wife he is not unfaithful, with some Antillean wives he is. And the European concept of beauty . . . during the Christmas season in Holland, hundreds of Antillean girls would come to the parties, and the boys would come with their Dutch girls, and many times the Antillean girl, especially the less she conformed to the more European standards of beauty, would sit all night on the sides without even a dance . . . but they would continue to come because this was the place where they could meet and see everyone from home. The argument that the Antillean girl doesn't know how to serve is not important because most of the men come from the same type of homes as the Antillean girl so how did they learn so much about serving?

As Paula (1967) pointed out in his work on Curaçao, and as implied in the above statements, the problem seems to center in part around the color attitudes on the part of the islanders. After all, the Dutch wives represent the racial culmination and the cultural zenith. Another factor pointed out by Antillean girls is that the majority of

students are family oriented. The Dutch women offer not only close companionship, but are the key to admission into close family situations as many students are taken into the family. A third factor of vital importance in the past was the relatively easy sexual accessibility of some Dutch girls as mentioned. In Aruba many "nice" girls, especially among the "real" Arubans, never saw their fiances unchaperoned until the day of the wedding, and the reputation of a girl could and still can be jeopardized by having her name linked with many men. In view of this type of background the sudden change was often overwhelming. In addition, according to a number of informants, Antillean girls were not easily acquired; "you have to work hard for them and when you study you do not have that time." There is also an attitude among the Dutch that one must stick to one's "level" in life or class, which together with the easy accessibility of Dutch women, tends to influence decisions in favor of a Dutch wife, as a number of students felt Antillean girls at home rarely went above the tenth class. According to numerous informants, such marriages work out well as long as the couple are abroad, but frequently shatter upon the return to the island.

It can be seen that there is a considerable amount of inter-ethnic interchange at the level of kinship and marriage which appears to be on the increase with the younger generation. Of course the fact that persons are married does not mean immediate acceptance or necessarily a close relationship with the immediate family, but it allows in some instances for a feeling of camaraderie with the ethnic group at large. There appear to be no really local ethnic lines which are not crossed

by marriage. The Americans are the one exception to the rule, and in a sense are not to be considered with the general island groups.

Information as to the operation of systems of kinship extensions was not readily accessible in Aruba as in parts of Mexico or sections of Puerto Rico, where compadrazgo is operative. In the latter areas the terms compadre and comadre can frequently be heard as terms of daily address. There are indications that this system was of importance among native Arubans in the 1920's, for Lampe (in Hartog 1960:230) mentions use of only compadrazgo terms (that is, comadre and compadre) when the rural people came to Oranjestad to meet the ships. An older informant mentioned little girls becoming "comadres of the doll" in the past, stating under certain circumstances the relationship would continue throughout their adult lives. At present, however, compadrazgo does not appear to be a binding force among the majority of the population. Another form of kinship extension noted in Aruba was that between members of certain of the lodges where a number took their obligations of "brother" or "sister" seriously. These relationships often cross-cut ethnic lines.

Voluntary Associations as an Integrative Factor

The integrative tendencies of associations have been discussed in Chapter 4. An attempt was made to illustrate how the associational network cross-cuts locality, ethnic and class lines, plus maintaining extra-island contacts. There are formalized internal relationships between all the clubs belonging to the various athletic bonds which schedule matches between elite, local, general, and ethnic associations which have the required teams. In addition, there are a few associations with

elite and "plain" members operating together, and a number which are generally mixed, crossing most occupational levels (Figure 3). Associations help individuals understand and operate within the society and aid in fostering better cooperation between ethnic and occupational sectors.

Although Figure 3 gives the impression that there are almost as many Aruban associations as "English", it was definitely felt that the English organizations would have been more numerous if not for the retrenchment of the refinery. There were a number of cricket clubs and additional friendly fraternal societies and lodges, such as the "Druids", which have now disappeared. In this aspect the West Indians seem to follow the general British trend. In a study of associations in the United Kingdom, it was noted that membership in all sorts of clubs is ". . . characteristic of all social classes, but the kind immediately determines a man's status" (Richmond 1958:62). Other national groups vary in this respect. France is among those countries having a weak tradition of voluntary associations (Rose 1954:77) although Sills (1968) might disagree. General observation and the statements of informants indicate the Arubans lie close to the Latin Americans in this respect. Emilio Willems has pointed to the individualism in Latin Americans affecting their associational tendencies. Using Brazil, he points out that they resist the organized, finding "chance encounters much more pleasant" (1958:534). To drop by the club is one thing, to administer it another. He states (1958:533): "In this androcentric society there has been little inclination to do things on behalf of the community or any other group, except kinship groups. Activities that require

concerted effort of some continuity were, and still are, difficult to sustain." Therefore, few associations exist and if they do ". . . their life consists of the sporadic groping and half-hearted efforts of a few" (1958:534). This, of course, varies with the individual concerned. Five of the Aruban associations were generally started and actively administered until recently by the clergy. The elite clubs and general club No. 1 were not in this category.

Bonairians in Aruba also appear not to be excessive joiners.

Placed along a continuum for joining, the data seem to indicate:

Low ----------→			High
Chinese Bonairians Latin Americans	Dutch Windward Islanders	Curaçaleñans	Surinamers British West Indians Americans

The data seem to reveal a relatively "democratic" orientation of the associations. Officers often waited expectantly for discussions and questions. Numerous informants complained that Antilleans often were not satisfied, but would never speak within meetings. They tended to drift off into small groups afterwards for their discussions. This is also reportedly changing with younger members who tend to ask questions. Personal relationships and friendship are very important to the Antilleans, and this is reflected by the number of associations which were started by groups of friends or relatives with a similar interest. It appears, then, in Aruba as in Africa, voluntary associations ". . . tend to arise out of the interaction of persons who see the formally constituted body as the proper or more effective way of furthering the avowed aims and interest they hold in common" (Epstein 1961:55).

Specialization and Religion as Integrative Factors

Occupations. Broadly speaking, there has been a tendency towards occupational specialization by ethnic groups. In certain work situations "strangers" held positions which Arubans either avoided, or were not prepared to do. This is now changing.

Among the jobs which Antilleans resisted were domestic work, gardening, and garbage collection. Although a number of Windward Islanders worked as domestics, Britishers were in the forefront. Some of the Portuguese migrants were employed for Lago and a great many worked as street cleaners. One informant stated: "the Portuguese used to do the dirty work, clean out the toilet holes, gardening, etc. . . got so they called it "Portugee" work; now look . . . with careful living, many own their homes and small shops, etc. But we never really advance . . . (i.e., Windward Islanders) as a whole group." In recent years they have ventured into the refreshment area and are the main mobile ice cream vendors. This activity in the latter field has earned them the rather derogatory nickname "palo frio" (roughly, popsicle or ice cream bar) men. However, their children bear no stigma as a result of parental occupation.

A large percentage of the locally grown vegetables are produced by the Chinese, who also frequently own small grocery stores. As a result, "to go to the Chinee" often meant to go shop for groceries. (Chinee is considered to be singular, Chinese is plural in local usage.) In addition, a number own curio and import shops.

Quite a few Britishers, Surinamers, and European Jewish merchants have shops of various types, including clothing, variety, electrical

wares, and furniture in Sint Nicolaas as well as in Oranjestad. The influence of the European Jews is heavily felt in both places. During the high Jewish holidays, a store count revealed approximately half of the shops on the main street were closed for the holidays; however, the back streets were not investigated. Some families of East Indian and Middle Eastern descent have operated stores in the area for so long their names are practically household words. In addition, there are the shops operated by the local first families. Hiring tends to be across ethnic lines in many stores, although some firms must accommodate their relatives. Naturally more Negroid types are visible working in Sint Nicolaas shops, for this is their area of greater concentration.

The teachers and medical doctors were once primarily Dutch and Surinamers, but this is slowly changing, and hosts of young Antillean women are now studying and working as nurses.

There was some evidence of occupational specialization within the refinery, also. For example, the operators and crew of the refinery fleet were primarily Bonairians and Sabans.

Religion. Religion has been an integrative as well as a disintegrative force on the island. As was shown in Chapter 2, the earlier Catholic priests and the Protestant ministers actually performed religious rites for each other. However, this spirit of cooperation began to die when Protestant ministers started to reside on the island and as priests from Holland replaced those from Latin America. It therefore appeared that the attitudes resulting from historical entanglements of the Netherlands were brought in and instilled among the islanders so that at least one church was burned in the 1800's. Later a reportedly

sharp division grew between the Protestant and Catholic elite to the point that some Catholics in the past were threatened with excommunication when contemplating marrying a Protestant. During a discussion of Catholic-Protestant feelings, a native Aruban mentioned that during his youth, "I had a Protestant friend and I couldn't go to his house, and this boy had comic books which I liked, so we would meet in the house of a relative of mine (i.e., to look at the comic books)," which indicates that variations in attitudes existed even within families, as is often the case. The informant then mentioned

> the strictness of the priests. I had a relative who 20 years ago was standing near the school with pedal pushers on when one of the nuns came by and scolded her, and she answered back, and when she went to school the next day she was put out of school and she went to public school and finished . . . and you know what was so funny? When she went to X and came back to teach here, that same nun had to meet her and take her where she was to teach. In those days parents with children in public schools were not allowed to receive the sacrament . . . These things changed when the old Bishop changed . . .

In any characterization of Catholicism, so much depends on the personality of the priests in charge, as implied in the preceding statement. In the past two years, there were exchanges of ministers and priests in line with the recent Vatican recommendations.

The Catholic church served as an integrative force in that a large number of "strangers" were also of the faith and attended the same masses and sent their children to the Catholic schools. Attendance at the high masses of important holy days in Sint Nicolaas is revealing, because representatives of all the races and ethnic groups are present. However, in earlier years there was a disintegrative aspect as well. One priest explained that certain members of the older clergy, recognizing the native Arubans' shy, passive nature, attempted to protect

and help them preserve their culture by warning them to beware of the "strangers". This was especially felt to be needed as most of the early migrants were men and the Aruban girls were so over-protected they would not have known how to cope with the situation. It was thus done "for their own good." This protective attitude was not understood by the "strangers", many of whom went to the same masses and heard these admonitions to the native Arubans. Non-native Arubans often related these past incidents to the interviewer. The following statements were made during a discussion between a native Aruban "X" and a non-native "Y". Y laughingly stated,

> When my parents first came to Oranjestad, the priests preached in church to beware of the black people; they had tails and were to be avoided as they were dangerous . . . [X pointed out that] now when the people speak of someone's having a tail it is figurative, meaning they are the devil . . . These Catholics were tolerated in those days.

Consequently bitterness developed on both sides. On the Aruban side it was against the "strangers" and on the part of the newcomers, it was against both the clergy and the native Arubans for being so easily led by the former. A native Aruban informant expressed the opinion of a number of informants when she stated: "When the workers first came, the parents warned their children to stay away from them, for they were strangers, but not any more."

Protestantism also acts to bring various ethnic groups into closer interaction. The Dutch "Protestant" Church combines various separate Protestant denominations, as the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran, due to the small size of the Protestant community. There is, therefore, insufficient population to allow for the division into separate

Protestant sects. The same is true of the Protestant Church of the American Colony. The Anglican Church serves both Windward Islanders and Britishers, as does the Methodist. Groups such as the Seventh Day Adventists and the more recent Jehovah's Witnesses include members of the different island communities. The latter has a number of active native Aruban families who are members. One church appears rather isolated in its nature, and that is due to historical circumstances. This is the Moravian Church, which is primarily attended by Surinamers. These missionaries did not proselytize in the other Dutch territories, and there were few in the British territory.

The State Apparatus. Included for consideration at this point are the educational, police, and governmental systems. The educational system definitely acts as an integrative force. From the first days in kindergarten, non-Dutch speaking children learn the Dutch language, and all except a very few attend the local schools. Actually both approved private and public education are included, as the government subsidizes local religious schools. The Lago Colony educational system is completely apart. The same was true of the vocational training school, but the latter was a force for interethnic integration, for it was open to all island boys. A few non-recognized "English" schools exist but here, too, pupils are from all backgrounds, including native Arubans, as is the staff when the institution is large enough. Therefore, depending on the locality, the school allows for prolonged interaction of varying degrees among the students of different backgrounds. Until recently, the students were taught by Dutch nuns, freres, and lay persons in addition to Surinamers, with very few native Arubans. Now the

numbers of native Arubans and Antillean primary school teachers have increased. In addition to native-born Antilleans, those born in Aruba of non-Dutch descent who are trained in Holland and are Dutch subjects are also employed.

The policemen formerly were Dutch, and frequently Curaçalenan. Informants state that Arubans formerly resisted work as policemen, feeling that it was low in status. Others, such as Lakke (1965), state that native Arubans avoided jobs in which authority was involved. Lakke presented an explorative paper regarding "Arubans and Authority" at a Caribbean conference for mental health, for which he drew conclusions on the basis of a questionnaire given to sixty Arubans, forty Dutchmen, and twenty Negroes, and attempted to compare attitudes. His categories, especially the "Negro", were never clarified. Hopefully, Chapter 3 has given some indication that in an area with such a wide variety of cultural backgrounds, "Negro" means absolutely nothing except that the individual has a black or dark brown skin. What were the backgrounds of these "Negro" men -- were they Windward Islanders, British, or even of French background? Unfortunately, much of the data on racial and ethnic comparisons suffers from just this type of indiscriminate lumping with the result that it is practically meaningless. In view of the attachment which native Arubans have to their friends and their families, together with a practical tendency, it would appear that they view certain positions as placing them where they would be forced to choose between: (1) loyalty to the position, or (2) loyalty to the family and friends. The latter until recently has generally taken preference. It

is proposed that now that community expectations of Arubans widen, more will choose the former.

Some informants claim that native Arubans at first resented dark Curaçaleñan policemen. This may possibly be related to a general resentment of Curaçaleñans apparent from time to time, and also the results of earlier incidents reported by Dr. Hartog (1960:325). Apparently a few "colored" policemen patrolled the island on an emergency basis after the establishment of the Lago refinery, but with the arrival of United States lower class workmen who refused to recognize dark policemen, replacements were instituted. At present, the force is made up of Arubans as well as all other types of Dutch citizens.

Dutch subjects of all backgrounds work for the government, and the latter takes good care of its subjects, both native-born and naturalized. Certain aspects of the official immigration policy, however, are restrictive and act as a disintegrative factor. In their attempts to screen newcomers to avoid having a number of state or additional welfare cases, the government is very strict. Even other non-Antillean Dutch subjects such as Surinamers are considered in some respects as "strangers". Many non-natives were quite uneasy during recent years as numerous stories were heard to the effect that, although individuals may have lived on the island for years as law-abiding residents, upon the loss of a job they are given a relatively short time to settle their affairs and leave the island. Regardless of the truth of the individual circumstances of those stories, they have a demoralizing effect upon the foreigners in general. It has been observed that, as in bureaucracies the world over, a number of foreigners not well acquainted with the

system could be led astray by grade 1 and grade 2 clerks who at times are misinformed but adamant. There was one such instance where loss of residence would have resulted in considerable red tape and delay before readmission. However, conferences with higher level officials indicated that the action advised was not at all necessary.

Crucial to the understanding of the attitudes of the strangers to the immigration authorities is the fact that a number of the migrants came during the early years when traffic between the islands was relatively free, and the masses on the folk level did not understand the formalities involved. This included the registration of their children with their various consulates if they wished the children to retain the parental nationality. Nor did many understand that their own governments have various citizenship restrictions, as for example that of Britain regarding conception of illegitimate children on foreign soil. Due to the lack of perspective, and the lack of experience in dealing with their own governments on the same types of problems, plus language and general cultural differences on the part of those entering and the officials in charge, a number of misunderstandings have developed.

A few of the non-native Arubans are now able to view the situation from a wider, more analytical viewpoint. Recent trips to their own countries, which are newly independent, are changing the perspectives of some individuals. One informant reported his shock at finding that Trinidad, in attempting to provide for the citizens of Trinidad and Tabago, was developing a restrictive attitude toward those of other West Indian islands, in contrast to their earlier free movement.

Another important integrating factor is that Aruba is one of the six islands composing the Netherlands Antilles which form an autonomous part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Therefore, there are government operations on the "state" or island level and those on the "federal" or Antillean level. Those described previously apply to the state level. However, as an Antillean Island, Bonairians, Windward Islanders, and Curaçaleñans as well as Arubans hold certain positions in the federal structure. The factor of the unification of the islands into a nation creates an added unifying force of a somewhat structured or official type which includes all the ethnic groups on the other islands, so even while there are disagreements and misunderstandings among the various islanders -- to the extent that some Arubans want to pull out of the Federation -- there is at the same time another force which tends to draw the Antillean groups closer together. On the other hand, this same unifying force for the Antilleans has the effect of splitting the non-native Antilleans from the other Dutch and foreign groups. The dual effect of these governmental policies was also evident when the "Aruba for the Arubans" policy tended to unite the native Arubans who were formerly divided even among themselves, while isolating them from the non-native residents. At the same time it served as a unifying force for all the other strangers.

The Industrial Complex as an Integrating Force

At this point the position of the refinery as a primary integrating mechanism for the local ethnic groups will be illustrated. In general the refineries, especially Lago, were the pivotal forces of the

island. They were important not only in their employment of personnel in the factories, but in the build-up of complementary services throughout the island. They required transportation fleets and still rely on tankers, though more advanced models, for shipment of products. Maintenance firms cropped up even though the Lago had its own crews. Homes for the employees were needed, requiring the establishment of construction firms over the years.

Recreation was necessary for both management and workers. Consequently two well staffed clubs were operated, one for the "locals" and the other for management. In this sense Lago was a force for aiding the interaction patterns among the "locals". As the management withdrew from them all, they were therefore all left on approximately the same footing. As a result, they felt discriminated against collectively. Informants report Lago officials picking up shipwrecked "White" North Americans or Europeans, taking them to the colony, and later giving these men higher jobs. Evidently captains of ships, for example White Windward Islanders, were housed with their families in the colony.

The actual day to day working situation offered a meeting ground for those of the various ethnic groups. The scope of the refining operation in relation to island size and the general state of the island economy was such that practically all of the male island residents over the age of 30 have had some relation with the company, either in direct employment, attendance at the Lago vocational school, or working for companies serving Lago. As a result, there exists a wide network of interpersonal relations of varying degrees of intensity. Current

British and Surinam businessmen know various "governing officials" as a result of having worked together during the early days of Lago.

Study of the associations reveals the extent to which various social and philanthropic endeavors depend on the company for assistance. Funds for certain recreational and charitable work were regularly given. Fewer than five of the associations contacted had never requested assistance or equipment or been in contact with the company. A large percentage of the educated young islanders have been recipients of Lago scholarships, which cover liberal arts subjects in addition to those in the physical sciences. The role of the company in providing assistance has been such that apparently a number of individuals think first, "ask Lago" or "write Lago" before attempting to look for other resources. When some of the young high school students are questioned about plans for future study, often the name of Lago is mentioned in connection with possible assistance.

At this point "locals" are placed throughout the refinery structure. The emphasis is on Antilleans and particularly Arubans as continued staff reduction takes place. Although the emphasis here is primarily on interethnic integration, it should be pointed out that the refinery also has non-integrative effects due to the need to employ workers of varying skills at different levels. Such requirements which are basic to the operation of the refinery, together with the education and training of the workers in the Lago vocational school and the presentation of scholarships to exceptionally qualified island persons, all tend to lead to more definite class divisions. In the past, due to the lack of resources, Antillean distinctions appeared to be expressed

inwardly in family types (i.e., degree of "refinement"), general behavior, and values. With the presence of Lago, funds are available which allow for material expression of family interests and outlook. In the past, occupational districts were not as obvious as they are at present, as locals were generally not in the high management sections. Even so, some non-natives report distinctions in behavior of former friends and neighbors who, upon arriving in Aruba and obtaining certain Lago positions, become distant.

Aruba has never had the discrimination by class which characterizes Curaçao; even though the Arubans recognized the distinction between the general public and the "old" families, there was a basically equalitarian attitude present. At present Antilleans, especially Arubans and Windward Islanders, are having to adjust to the fact that their relatives and friends now occupy responsible posts. In some cases, this causes some adjustments to be made in the social life, when former friends use them as sounding boards for their complaints against management. Nevertheless, this is far from saying that their fellow Arubans, for example, refuse or will continue to refuse to accept their authority in a managerial situation. It is felt that situations like those mentioned above are more likely to occur in societies where the class structure is not sharply defined. Therefore, there is no clear cut "next step" for the individuals concerned which is culturally defined and therefore accepted by the majority of the members in the society. This may partially explain the conflict between some Antilleans and their foreign-trained children or friends. Surinam, British, Curaçaleñan and some Antillean informants complain that often Antillean students, especially Arubans

and to a lesser degree Windward Islanders, "fall back in the same grooves" in which they were before they left the island to pursue their educations. In fact, returning students are sometimes ridiculed for being like the macambas (Dutch), or called monkeys, and some Windward Islanders may be accused of "trying to act like Whites", which is often effective in bringing the individuals back into conformity with the group expectation. A number of informants (women and men) explained this as another important reason in favor of Dutch spouses. "If you want to live the new way, the way you have learned to enjoy, you know you can't do it with an Antillean. His parents think he should be out with his friends all the time; classical music bothers them." The implication is that it is not necessarily the other Antillean who impedes this process, but the circle of family and friends who do not expect them to act too differently. With a Dutch spouse, the family and community are somewhat prepared mentally for changes even though these may be resented somewhat. A Dutch spouse, therefore, offers a convenient excuse to continue interests and ways of life which started in Europe. Coercion and feelings of the type mentioned above frequently occur in the midwestern and western United States within some non-Jewish families of first generation college and university graduates. Often one of the greatest compliments bestowed by the community is "you'd never know 'X' had all that education; he's just like the rest of us." Britishers and Surinamers, however, expect their children to live differently and to continue their exposure to intellectual and humanistic pursuits. In fact, the former appear almost to idolize the returning students, addressing them by their titles and pointing them out as examples to the

younger members of the group. Several informants pointed out that the British appreciation of the degrees and near idolization was almost embarrassing. It would thus appear that with more structured class systems, the families and the individuals involved face less conflicts, as there are definite steps or niches in the system to accommodate individuals with increased skills. Therefore, the occupation of the new niche is not necessarily considered as rejection of the family and friends.

Cultural Integration

The foregoing have been primarily aspects of societal integration. There is another aspect more difficult to describe but easy to observe in the area of cultural integration. This might tentatively be called "national" culture, Aruban variety, because on the surface it appears very similar to that of Curaçao. This "national" culture is of relatively recent development. Its symbols are spread rapidly via radio and television. It is a combination of United States (specifically New York), Dutch, West Indian, and Venezuelan (namely Caracas and Maracaibo) influences on an Antillean base. Some of the influences no doubt have resulted from the increased inter-Antillean communications due to Aruba's presence as one of the six islands in the Netherlands Antillean "Nation".

This national variant seems to have crystallized within the last five years. Students who have been away in Holland for a period of years are startled by some of the changes. There has even been a change in the attitudes of the sisters and freres in the parochial schools.

One frere commented, "Before you told them (the young people) what to do, now you say, 'please'?" A difference appears to exist in the minds of the young people, also. A 20 year old Aruban girl spoke of the changes in curriculum -- which took place in the school system since the years "long ago" when an older sibling, age 24, was attending classes.

Several young Aruban men joked about the fact that when they were courting, they had to ride past the house of the girl many times on their bicycles to get a glimpse of her. Now young boys and girls drive the family cars and call each other on the telephone. This cuts out having to go through the father or mother: "You speak directly to her, and alone!"

In approximately the last three years, beat bands have sprung up all over the island, with resulting contests and "shindigs" which are the early or late afternoon dances for youths, featuring primarily "beat bands. Evening dances end at 12 or earlier during the week, and 3 A.M. or earlier on weekends. Lago sponsored weekly shindigs on Sunday afternoons, which featured different island bands. The youth of all the ethnic groups attend the dances. Some of the girls are well chaperoned by their parents, primarily among the Arubans and Bonairians, while others go in groups or with their siblings. Certain bands are also based in a general locality, so each band has followers from their area as well as general fans. As a result, the complexion, or the percentages of ethnic groups at a given dance, are primarily determined by the band involved. If the X group plays at the Bonaire club, for example, more Bonairians and Arubans may be present; if the C group plays, more Windward Islanders may come. There are a few exceptions of clubs in

different parts of the island which have gotten the reputation of having their shindigs or dances attended by less well mannered individuals of the island, and there is less of a range of interaction in these clubs. However, this is a function of class more than ethnicity.

The fashions are modified "mod" for some. The girls of the more urban areas frequently wear slacks and shorts, and now mini dresses are worn by some to dances even in Santa Cruz, one of the conservative areas. "Strictly formal attire" now means the man must have on a full suit or at least a jacket and tie and that women must wear dresses. The use of strictly formal attire in some cases insures against the presence of some of the "rougher" elements.

Attendance at dances may start under age 13, but actual dancing at the affairs may start at approximately 13. All age groups may be present at the same dance. However, a number of the older people care less for the really "beat" music and come less frequently.

The island bands, including those whose members primarily come "from the heart of the village", are used by all the associations, even those of the elite. Selection is on the basis of quality of the playing. Due to this factor, there is a definite patterning of the dances regardless of the ethnic group. The one difference noted was that those given by the "English" speakers tended to play more "rhythm and blues" numbers or "soul" music, while the Papiamentu and Spanish favored the Latin numbers and little "soul". All groups appreciate calypsoes, and Carnival has now been institutionalized. Consequently, "real" Aruban steel bands are developing, and in the most recent competitions they were represented. As a result of radio, which intercepts various Latin American

stations, and the local television series plus those of the United States, Venezuela, and Holland, the majority of Arubans are well aware of world events and trends. In addition, the frequently extended visits and periods of study and work in Venezuela and Colombia, the United States, Holland, and England by residents of the island add to an international tone of the existing national culture. It is doubtful that any extended family on the island has not had some family member abroad in some capacity.

It is hoped that the above information gives a picture of various ethnic groups being effectively but not fully integrated into Aruban society. However, children of differing ethnic backgrounds are even more fully integrated into the current socio-cultural systems as individuals. It has been stated that "Every contact involves some degree of social and cultural integration, but there is a wide range in what become more or less stabilized situations with varying degrees of integration" (Spicer 1961:519). Hoetink (1967:117) mentions this in terms of the Curaçao immigrants:

> All these new groups came, temporarily to profit from the boom. None of them has as yet been fully integrated in traditional Curaçao society, although the extent varies to which they are accepted by the traditional Curaçao segments and enter into intimate social contact with one or more of these segments.

The fact is, the number of foreign workers in Curaçao was never so large as to threaten to submerge the original population as was the case in Aruba. Therefore the immigration policy which is influenced by the limited economic and resource base acts to restrict full integration, as well as the fact that some of the migrants still think in terms of returning to their"countries". This is one reason why some of the more

stable families continue to live in the "village". They are never sure when they will retire to their own islands.

The latter attitude causes a number of native Arubans to feel that, "They really don't care anything about Aruba, they just want to make a living here." The degree to which some non-native parents are caught in the dilemma reveals itself at about the time the children who are non-citizens reach 18, or are in secondary school. They point out that there is little future for their children on the island because of lack of potential employment even for the native Arubans. They also realize that with a Dutch education the best opportunities would be in Holland. One of the most important factors is that they realize that continuing education and living in Aruba produces Arubans, those who may grow up to feel foreign if it is necessary for them to return to the home countries. During one interviewing session, a group consisting of Dutch, Dutch-Indonesian, Surinam, and British backgrounds were discussing this problem. One of the individuals, who had visited his home island "X" at age 14 but had not since reaching adulthood, stated he felt "about X as the perfect country." The place where he would go as an old man . . . but then he mentioned "my friend who recently went there said it was a lovely place to visit, but he couldn't think of living there." P agreed, saying that he had grandparents, aunts, and most of his relatives in Z, but while visiting there he felt strange and was glad to be back in Aruba where he felt he belonged. P mentioned that his parents are always talking about "home, home, and they have been here (Aruba) 25 years." R, who had lived in Aruba since childhood, had felt enthusiastic about returning to Z, saying it was a relief to live somewhere "you

aren't a foreigner and always wondering about your visa . . ." Later this enthusiasm faded out and he said, "You know there is so much poverty there, and after living in Aruba, in some respects it is rather primitive." This dilemma is approached in a variety of ways. A number of parents send their children to secondary school or to college in the home country, Holland, or England. Depending on the finances, the children come home or the parents go to visit them. These visits vary from once or twice a year to once every five years. Apparently many Antilleans generally spend from five to seven years away from home in an uninterrupted stretch as a normal pattern. In several instances the mothers have accompanied the children. Others, particularly the Dutch, leave the island when their children are in mid-adolescence and return to Holland. Still other parents seem unable to make any outward preparations at all and appear to be constantly complaining and aware of the situation. The children in the latter case are those who are left to struggle with the problem. Several Aruban born adults of non-Aruban but Dutch parents bitterly complained of knowing nothing of their parents' island, having never been there, but not being allowed to be Aruban in a social sense, even though they may be legally Arubans. "They won't let you be even if you were born here." The case seems to be particularly difficult for illegitimate children whose non-native parents are from different locations, so that their only nationality claim is to Aruba.

This general situation of interethnic marriages and liaisons is serving to produce a new generation of "Antilleans", a concept which earlier was only a symbolic political term as a consequence of isolation

which existed between the islands. Due to the insular attitude characteristic of the Caribbean and the islands generally (Lowenthal 1960:787), people were categorized or identified in terms of their specific island. Now as a result of the migrations to work in Curaçao and Aruba, true Antilleans are being produced who, lacking the insular loyalties of their parents, may be able to weld together a firm Antillean "nation".

Summary

The data indicate that members of the varying ethnic groups fulfill certain interrelated functions in various areas of integration. Except for the Americans in the category of family and kinship, no one ethnic group is excluded or fails to interact with other groups in any of the categories. Individuals may fail to interact, but not groups as a whole. In the sense that there was ethnic occupational specialization, the ethnic groups as such were well articulated with, and formed part of the societal structure, but were not ranked. Therefore, it can be stated that integration occurred both in terms of the articulation of ethnic groups and on an individual basis. It is also important to point out that much of the interethnic interaction apart from that resulting specifically in an associational context is random in nature. At one time the Arubans held themselves aloof from "strangers", but at present this is breaking down, although many of them are now quite nationalistic, wanting "Aruba for the Arubans".

In Aruba there exists within each ethnic group, except possibly the Dutch and the Americans, a sector of people which acts as if they were in a small scale society and others who act as though they were

operating in a large scale society. Those groups with a high percentage operating on a small scale appear to be Arubans, Bonairians, Windward Islanders, and some of the British "small island" people, such as those from Carriacou and Anguilla.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This has been an attempt to determine the adequacy of the use of voluntary associations as a tool for the study of complex societies. As with Arensberg's use of the community study, the association becomes, in a sense, both object and sample. That is, one studies the association while at the same time using the association as the medium through which other data are gathered. It is recognized that each method depends on the aim of the study per se; however, it is felt that the type of data presented may give some idea of the potential of the method for certain types of interrelational studies.

The underlying concept of culture utilized in this research has been one of culture being differentially absorbed or participated in by the members of the society. According to Linton (1955:33), "each individual expresses only part of the culture, never the whole. No one person is ever familiar with the entire culture of his society, yet the organized group of individuals who compose the society are jointly able to know and practice the whole culture." Binford (1965:205) has more recently emphasized differential participation within societies. Culture is ". . . not necessarily shared, it is participated in. And it is participated in differentially." With this underlying concept of culture, the variations briefly described within each of the cultural groups in

Chapter 3 can be expected, as well as the differential patterns exhibited by parts of the groups in general interaction within Aruban Society. It is interesting that more folk types and the lower classes within the major groups tend to have more isolative tendencies; however, as one moved up the educational and economic ladder there appears to be more cross-ethnic contact in general, with cross-ethnic interlevel social contacts. In addition, as one moves up the educational scale, the individuals are apt to be younger. In a certain sense, interaction depends on the locality, for those in the folk or lower educational and economic brackets appear to be less likely to have as many cross-island social contacts as those in the ascending groups. For example, older individuals in the lowest educational and economic groups may rarely attend affairs at what they consider "great distances" from their homes. However, the young people may travel longer distances to attend shindig dances. Also, the professionals or civil servants may travel farther. These individuals may be accustomed to travelling distances, as often the professionals, administrators, and clerks work long distances from their homes, which also increases their network of social relations. A number of professionals, or those in business who work in Sint Nicolaas, live in the area of Oranjestad and drive the distance daily each morning and evening. In addition a number go home for lunch; consequently, these individuals' actual concepts of distance may vary from those who make a bi-weekly trip to Oranjestad or some similar distance.

The islanders have interacted with a variety of contact communities over the years. The first contacts were with a numerically small group of Spaniards. The effect of any interaction with this group

would have been technically lost due to the fact that the recipients of these influences reportedly left at the beginning of the Dutch administration. Subsequently, a distinct group of Indians appeared on the island, who together with the few Dutch from the West India Company, formed the original cultural nucleus and gene pool which made up the Aruban population. The Dutch contacts with Indian workers appeared primarily undirected. The European settlers allowed to settle in the late 1700's were, according to Hartog (1960), a general mixture, with Dutch and English settlers predominating. Consequently, there was not a specific Dutch contact group.

Later Spanish-speaking refugees from the South American mainland took refuge in Aruba and stimulated the intellectual life of the islanders. In view of continued interaction with mainlanders, particularly Venezuelans, the latter may be considered a contact group. In fact, the number of linkages with the mainland were always more numerous than those with the official Dutch government or its representatives. These linkages were through business and trade in contraband, with resulting friendship and later kinship by virtue of intermarriage. There was little effective linkage with the European Dutch per se. The primary official contacts were with Curaçao. However, links with the representatives of Dutch culture became more numerous in the early 1900's after the arrival of a large number of teachers -- nuns and freres of the religious orders, policemen, and government officials. In spite of the fact that tangible early linkages appear to be few, there are aspects of "Aruban" traditional culture which are surprisingly similar to those reported in at least once provincial area of Holland (Keur and Keur 1955).

The traditional cultural background of Aruba by the late 1920's reflected both Dutch and mainland South American characteristics.

Shortly after the opening of Lago, masses of migrant workers came to the island. The heterogeneity is indicated in the fact that at one time representatives of 44 nationalities were present. However, the greatest cultural influences came from the predominantly United States management personnel and the general Caribbean immigrants, consisting of the other Antillean Islanders and Surinamers, the Britishers, the French, and the Dominicans. There was therefore no simple meeting of only two cultural groups. There was, instead, the meeting of one traditional cultural group with a variety of other groups. In Curaçao, the same situation existed, but the native cultural group was of sufficient size not to be overwhelmed by the welter of other cultural expressions. The Aruban population, on the other hand, was small; in 1951 there were 28,500 non-natives to 27,500 native-born Arubans (Hartog 1960:369). Since for enumeration purposes, native-born means any individuals born on the island, it should be realized that this figure for Arubans included some who are not "real" Arubans in the popular sense of descent from those in Aruba prior to the opening of Lago.

All the groups were, in one sense, on equal footing because all, native and foreign, had to accommodate to an absolutely new situation which was provided by the refinery setting. This was their introduction to a new industrialized society which stimulated the development of a national culture, resting almost equally on the traditional Aruban base and the mosaic of other peoples. The trend which began 20 to 25 years ago continues even though some of the groups are only shells of what

formerly existed because the majority of the foreigners have already left. Moreover, a number of those still on the island are considering repatriation. The workers as well as the community at large were introduced to shift work, consecutive employment, pension plans, sick benefits, and vacation time. There are indications that there were some initial problems in training workers to return to work after payday, and also to return sober. Migrant workers who came to the island with better skills and educational qualifications were able to advance often in preference to the native Arubans who lacked such abilities, or who, because they were "at home" on their own island, did not in the early days feel the pressures to compete. Many non-Aruban informants point to the fact that the Arubans did not have to exert themselves or to "make it" on the job because they were already at home. They had no overseas financial commitments nor immigration problems to coerce them into conformity with the new industrialized situation. As far as management was concerned, they were all "locals" and thus treated separately from "foreign" management staff. This factor possibly kept structured differences from developing among the groups along the lines of ethnicity or color. In later years, "local" personnel were given scholarships, opportunities for advancement in management areas, overseas courses, all in order that Antilleans would be able to assume more responsibility for the operation of the industry. With the automation of the plant, employees were reduced from 8,000 to 1,700, which affected the total island community. Qualified Antilleans, but primarily native Arubans, are to be retained. Scores of families have left the island

to seek work elsewhere. The majority have been foreigners, but also native Arubans were included.

Rose (1954:63), in his study of voluntary associations, found that they help individuals to relate to the general society. In regard to the roles of voluntary associations, the data indicate that 80% of the associations were organized, at least in part, to meet their member's needs to "have something to do" and to give their members healthy activities to keep them "off the street and out of trouble." In addition, certain aspects of their activities such as sponsoring self-improvement classes, promoting community projects, assisting with charitable programs are, in effect, ". . . supplementary to those of government . . ." (Rose 1954:63; Sills 1968). For example, members of Economic Association No. 1 see their association as having been successful in ". . . educating the public for thrift." Sills (1968:375) also describes voluntary associations as fulfilling the above functions. Their role in assisting in the integration of subgroups, initiating social change, and particularly the welfare and training functions are of particular importance to newly independent countries and those of the developing nations as the governments are usually unable to support the staff or allocate the finances for the number and types of activities which were sponsored by the voluntary associations. For this reason, the developmental agencies of the United Nations and community development agencies stress the importance of the local community centers in an attempt to organize grass roots participation. A number of the local and general clubs operate in this capacity to varying degrees. However, since retrenchment at Lago, some lack funds and are almost inactive.

Several of the Aruban presidents of these associations in more isolated areas recognize their problems, but find it almost impossible to get funds, staff, and professional advice on programming and operations. If the island administration ever plans to initiate community development activities in the rural areas, it would seem that the collapse of these primarily grass roots associations would be a loss to the community as they serve a more traditional and isolative part of the island population.

In general, the associations allow for contacts between the various ethnic groups by means of associational exchanges. They also afford opportunities for individuals to learn to operate more effectively within the larger society. In addition, the associations aid in allowing for the expansion of the social networks of their members both on the island and also between island members and those in other countries. This occurs due to the various associational networks that loosely integrate Aruba with Curaçao, the lesser Antilles, and the United States, as well as Holland. This wide network of social relations, plus the constant travelling and vacationing in these areas, together with the recruitment of youth with Dutch rights from all ethnic backgrounds for work and study in Holland, and for study in the United States, means that there is a variety of different types of extended social networks connecting these areas.

This seems to negate Lowenthal's statement that: "The network of social relations seldom survives the sea" (1960:787). Studies conducted by both Padilla (1958) and Lewis (1966) indicate that there was constant contact and visiting among relatives in Puerto Rico and New

York City. These constant contacts do not alter the fact that the islanders are basically insular in view. In fact, it is probably because of the insular attitude and strong family orientations that there is so much contact, for unlike many Europeans and Americans, when the islanders travel they go directly among their relatives or friends from their home island. Manners (1965:188) has shown how an economic interdependence exists among many of the islands and between the islands and various metropolitan centers through remittances sent by workers to their home islands. Aruba filled an important position in this area. Data on the National Accounts of Grenada (1953:114) indicate a section under transfer incomes which includes "Remittances from abroad, Principally from labourers working in Aruba and Curaçao, via the Banks and Post Office." As a result of this type of economic interrelationship, Manners (1965:182) indicates that anthropologists are "naive" to attempt to study the islands as "if parts were independent of outside influences . . ." and indicates that the concept of social field has more utility for Caribbean studies than the more traditional concepts.

Certain variations were observed among the non-native residents. It should be noted that the island is considered <u>heterogeneous,</u> not plural, following M. G. Smith's (1965a:88) definition of pluralism involving institutional divergences and effective control of all the groups by one "component cultural section". Hoetink (1967:94, 97) considers plural and segmented societies to be the same. He states "a segmented society" is one which

> . . . at its moment of origin consists of at least two groups of people of different races and cultures each having its own social institutions and social structure, and each of these

> . . . segments, having its own rank in the social structure, and the society as a whole being governed by one of the segments.

The two definitions differ, but by neither could the island be considered to be a plural society. In addition, since the ethnic segments which would determine the extent of pluralism have only been on the island for approximately 40 years, and these are rapidly declining in numbers due to the repatriation, it is felt that the application of the term would be premature in any case. A number of the small island groups tend to exhibit rather isolative tendencies, while ethnic groups from the mainland such as Surinam, Guyana, and Venezuela were more likely to mingle freely with others. Windward Islanders freely spoke of Aruban and Bonairian clannishness. However, others felt that this tendency held for the Windward Islanders also. The degree of interaction between the various groups appears to be directly related to the age and the educational level of the individual concerned and also to their residential location on the island. There also appears to be a correlation between age, locality, educational progress, and multilingual ability. There is now a more general use of Papiamentu among the children of non-Arubans and also Dutch for all the island young people. It must be remembered that the past tendency of some of the educated Arubans to consider Papiamentu as "only a dialect" no doubt affected the prestige of the language in the eyes of some of the migrants who otherwise would have been inclined to learn to speak it. Aruban and non-Aruban informants often included in their comments the fact that the tremendous changes which have occurred have been within the space of approximately 40 years. The native Arubans and long time foreign residents have been

able to adjust to these changes in their stride with comparatively little disorganization. Native Arubans have been able to adapt new forms and adjust to the new situations without giving up that core characteristic of quiet reserve and reliance on the immediate family. Younger non-Aruban residents, who have spent most of their lives on the island, in addition to operating within the structure of the society, contribute to and are molded by the overall "national" culture. In fact, frequently these individuals are unable to feel at home on their parents' islands and consider themselves Aruban or Antillean.

It seems few of either the older or the young people of any of the ethnic groups, including the native Aruban, have much feeling of building a nation. The concept of working hard toward a goal creating something new is almost lacking. A number of Arubans do not appear to want to build Aruba, they wish to walk in on the white collar level and earn large salaries for short hours with all the amenities. Many Windward Islanders and Britishers are apparently not interested in returning to their islands to build them up; they are waiting until they are built up to return. Similar attitudes are typical of other groups. There is little pioneer spirit. Only a few individuals in each group feel that with their cooperation, their homelands might be improved. One native Aruban official wistfully explained that he saw Aruba as a small Israel; with hard work and interest he felt there could be great improvements in island conditions. He considered himself a lone voice crying in the wilderness. The fact is that the population has seen such tremendous changes and improvements over the last 40 years without any comparatively hard work, planning, or deprivation on their part, that the necessity

for such activity eludes the masses, and especially those from islands less well off financially.

At present a great amount of variation exists on the Aruban scene. Local girls with mini skirts may be seen walking along the streets of the Stad as well as tourists and the old, local ladies with long, loose print dresses and their heads covered with large, shawl-like kerchiefs. In addition, there are older women of other ethnic backgrounds who sell lottery tickets. They, too, wear the head ties of their various home towns. Some are of the madras of the islands as well as the distinctive folded cloth of the Surinamers. In the countryside the traditional houses surrounded by stone fences may be next door to modern homes, and both may be equipped with the latest appliances. The herds of sheep and goats which wander through the cunucu sometimes come in conflict with the many American and foreign cars which are driven at furious paces by the young men of the island. The World Series (baseball) is important to many of the islanders, both old and young, and the latest dances are followed within short periods of their rise to popularity in Holland, New York, and Caracas.

In short, Aruba has both the old and new existing side by side with little evidence of demoralization or breakdown as a result of changes over the past 40 years. Ethnic differences are not a factor in the acceptance of the new or maintenance of the old. The relative ease in adapting to the new situations seems to be explained by the facts that Aruban culture has since its inception in the late 1700's been subject to periodic changes brought about by outside socio-economic

factors, and the periodic settlement of foreigners on the island, that is, Spanish speaking persons from the mainland, slaves, European settlers, and finally the refinery workers.

Conclusions

In view of recent discussions regarding the problems of method in the anthropological study of complex society, the writer became interested in applying the method of research through voluntary associations. Bennett (1968:17) has stated that:

> Anthropologists have identified culture with the tribal version at the great cost of becoming unable to see culture in other contexts. Their failure to study cultural phenomena in modern industrial society as intensively as they have studied it in tribal and peasant is a result of this special preoccupation.

Other authors like Lowenthal (1960) have discussed the need for varying types of studies of complex areas, but it appears that anthropologists are stifled due to the lack of suitable methodology for such studies. Cohen (1968:17) has written that the old units of ethnicity, community, or tribe ". . . become only <u>one variable in the new research situation.</u> This is our crisis." "Out of the present 'crisis' . . . must eventually come new theories, methods, and research direction . . ." (1968:18).

Steward (1967:vii) suggests a breaking of the "traditional narrow ethnological approach" . . . in our attempts to study changes resulting from . . . "factors and processes that are distinctive of the contemporary industrial world" (1967:4). However, Gutkind (1968:20) feels ". . . we have <u>always</u> studied complex societies, many of them with pluralistic characteristics, and any anthropologist who insists otherwise is either blind or a fool." Nevertheless, he, like Steward, feels

that possibly the complexity may be a ". . . new, and perhaps different kind of organized complexity" which results, as in Africa, when formerly ". . . rural societies become progressively more geared to an urban-commercial industrial way of life . . ."

Manners (1965:192) wrote that anthropologists must realize the varying linkages which cross national boundaries. The anthropology of today is in a sense "world anthropology". He cautions that even though linkages may be remote, the

> . . . anthropologist must be especially careful lest his professional heritage and his near-commitment to the hypothetical tribal or community isolate obscure a social field which reaches outside his village, community, or country and across several thousand miles of ocean to the sources of stability, change, growth or decay. . . . Thus it becomes the responsibility of anthropologists to seek out the research methods and to devise the research models by which we may deepen our understanding and improve our interpretations of cultural process and pattern in modern tribes, villages, communities, towns and nations.

Manners is addressing himself particularly to research in the Caribbean situation where a definite bias may be said to exist. Anthropologists may have to ". . . focus on new systems or units of research more consonant with the demands of analysis . . . I have tried to suggest, in any case, that enough evidence and uncertainty have accumulated to call for the fabrication of some new methods of research and analysis" (1965:193).

Others have been concerned with finding methods for obtaining the quality of information in modern and rapidly changing areas which has traditionally concerned anthropologists, and which conventional surveys and questionnaires do not reveal. In an attempt to understand individual interaction and cultural change in a Nigerian city, Plotnicov

(1967) used an "ego-oriented" methodological approach, to get an added dimension of understanding of cultural behavior. However, he recognizes that his method cannot substitute for, but can only supplement, traditional anthropological methods. His study involved interviews of varying intensity with 16 and finally eight informants over a period of approximately two years.

It is recognized that this type of data is definitely needed for the solving of certain types of problems. However, in an attempt to study a number of current problems such as interaction patterns between groups, or an overall picture of individual adjustment, or to plan general research programs for newly developing national governments, this method is both time consuming and expensive in terms of the end product.

In an "overview" type of study of Puerto Rico, Brameld (1959) attempted to solve the data collecting problem by having potential respondents selected by groups of knowledgeable citizens of the community, for example, educators and faculty members.

Little (1965:166), in his study of West African urbanization, discusses the adequacy of voluntary associations as a tool for the analysis of social change in areas of "complex wider systems" of integration. In the present research, an attempt was made to use voluntary associations both as a means for gathering data and as a tool for analysis to see what types of data might be obtained in the heterogeneous Aruban situation.

Unfortunately the research was hampered by lack of even clerical assistance and by not knowing initially the length of time which would be allocated to the project, for reasons described in the introduction.

The "study" in some cases resulted only in one or two full interviews with one or more members of the organization, a total of 143, due to the lack of staff. It is hoped that some idea of the variety and depth of information which can be obtained on both the individual and group levels by working through voluntary associations has been gained from the material presented. The complete questionnaire and list of field categories are included in the appendix. In addition to material stemming directly from the questions, data was often collected in the interview context and relating to other topics of traditional ethnological interest, as: practices and attitudes regarding kinship and on marriage, medical practices, attitudes toward health and disease, problems in the adjustment of returning university graduates, preparation of traditional dishes, burial practices, inter-generational conflict, folklore, and a number of other items. With adequate staff to follow through with several scheduled interviews, plus participant observation at most association functions, the method might be more adequately investigated. This would allow the interviewer to become personally acquainted with more members and would allow for the needed observation, for there is a great discrepancy between verbalized behavior and actual concrete observations, which some of the devotees of the use of questionnaires alone appear to underestimate. Questioning away from the scene, even on the scene, is not sufficient if <u>actual</u> behavior is to be investigated. Observation is vital, especially in the area of individual interaction. In several instances, informants gave the wrong information about club composition in regard to race, ethnicity, and interaction patterns. However, due to the small size of the island and the repetitive nature

of the patterns, there was not a great problem involved in checking discrepancies, as might occur in a larger area. It is recognized that a study using this focus together with others would be especially fruitful. However, it is felt that this "technique" has certain advantages where: (1) an overall view of the total social system is needed, or an understanding of interrelationships of various groups within a society is important; (2) there is lack of time, funds, or staff. Once the associations are uncovered, and contacts established, fairly intensive work may be started much more quickly and with less suspicion and resentment than in general family or community studies where the role of the investigator is harder to define in community terms. In addition, during each interview material is obtained which is relative both on an individual (i.e., individual memberships in other associations) and the group levels, (for example, intra-club activities and relationships), which adds to the multi-dimensional aspects of the data.

Given the presence of voluntary associations in a specified area, study of the associations can reveal circumstances and regulations of membership, and the relationships between associations and the general community structure in a relatively short time. With this method of data collection, it is less likely to meet only isolated segments or representatives of only certain areas of the community, thus ensuring a more representative sample of the variety existing within any given community. Some institutions and governments, especially of the smaller and newly developing nations lack the staff and are not in financial condition to devote years and huge sums of money for needed initial, exploratory projects, in relatively complex or heterogeneous

areas. In these instances, or for those focusing on problems of interaction or integration of various types, some effective and efficient methods are required. The use of voluntary associations allows for a wide view of the data and is not inhibited by the limiting boundaries which occur in the community and family study methods. The type of data which is obtained through the study of voluntary associations is more specific than that obtained through community studies, while it covers a wider social field, that is, cross-cuts the community boundaries. On the other hand, the data would be less specific and detailed and therefore lack the depth of either "functional" studies (that is, kinship or political organization, . . .) or family studies, while it would cover a wider social field. Studies of interethnic relationships through the kinship or the political system would view the relationships in depth in <u>that</u> particular system, not necessarily the relationships <u>between</u> that system and the remainder which comprise the total social system. Study through voluntary associations has one of the same advantages of functional, family and clique studies, as the relationships are viewed from a specific vantage point, the associational structure. However, as the associational structure cross-cuts all the systems -- kinship, religious, economic, . . ., -- which comprise a given society, a more wholistic view of the interrelationships in a given society is achieved. This view is especially important in heterogeneous or plural societies where an understanding of a wide variety of types of interrelationships between sectors is needed. In short, there is a wider focus. This does not necessarily mean that other methods could not eventually reveal some of the same types of data. However, the study through voluntary

associations is more efficient if interrelationships on a wholistic basis covering the society is required; if the broad view is necessary, it would take two or three different small screens or prints to produce what the one large screen, that is, method of voluntary associations, can illustrate with one screen.

Possible Implications for Caribbean Studies

The rather one-sided emphasis of Caribbean research has been recognized by a number of those specializing in the area. A great number of the research studies have been community oriented. Manners (1965:184) states: "Neighborhoods, villages, towns, and 'communities," in the French, Spanish, Dutch and English-speaking areas . . ." have been ". . . treated analytically as parts of closed social systems." Rarely are the more important social linkages "spelled out". He mentions (1965:180) the ". . . inadequacies of the traditional methods and techniques of local group research for coping with contemporary nation-embedded tribes and communities," stating that: "It is clear, therefore, that the old 'techniques' are probably inadequate for providing the 'data' which contribute to a solution of this problem. Research techniques, data and analyses are linked . . ." (1965:183).

It is indicative of the methodological bias that in areas where heterogeneity of class and ethnicity is so apparent, the majority of the studies have focused on the lower class Negro, family organization, peasantry, and religious practices. There are studies of the East Indians (Klass 1961), a few of which discuss briefly their interrelations with the "creole" part of the population (Niehoff 1960). But few

studies exist on other important groups such as the Chinese, Portuguese, or creole Whites, or discuss interaction patterns between the groups as a whole (Crowley 1957, 1960). R. T. Smith (1963:31) has discussed the limitations and the difficulty in dealing ". . . adequately with the whole question of status, societal and subcultural norms, mainly because all the studies limit themselves to Negro sub-sectors of these societies." In 1963 Smith (1963:25) stated that most of the work on kinship and family structure has been "concentrated upon lower-class Negro groups and a number of recent publications continue this bias." Moreover, most of the work has been limited to the British Caribbean, Haiti, Martinique, and Puerto Rico. In recent years, however, more studies have become available on the French Islands.

In 1967 Comitas (p. 118) was able to state, ". . . recent anthropological interest in Cuba and the Dominican Republic should lead to a more balanced anthropological knowledge of the Caribbean." Nevertheless, the Netherlands Antilles are still poorly known. The Windward Islands (Keur and Keur 1960) have been studied. Also, Aruba and Bonaire have been investigated to a more limited degree; however, publications are practically non-existent, even in the Dutch language. Curaçao, the capital, has been studied to a greater extent than the other islands.

The problem in these situations is that the generalizations made in terms of the units studied somehow, even if unintentionally, soon give the impression of applying to the general area. For example, Hoetink (1967) has discussed "Dutch" Colonialism on the basis of Curaçao and the Windward Islanders, deriving his generalizations hardly at all from knowledge of Aruba, or even Bonaire. Often works entitled

"Caribbean . . ." include only material covering the British areas, and thanks to more recent studies of the smaller islands such as Carriacou (M. G. Smith 1962), it is now realized that even all the British islands are not alike in their lower class family organization. As a result of such inadequate coverage coupled with desire to generalize, one can read statements such as "Caribbean family organization is characterized by a domestic system in which women play a dominant role" (Otterbein 1965:66). This statement would appear to be true only for some lower class families across French, British, Spanish, United States, and Dutch Caribbean borders, but would not be the case in many of the middle or upper class families. Even for lower class families, it depends on their economic systems. Certain of the concepts derived from these limited studies become practically household words for the general area, for example, "matrifocality". Solien (1959:Abstract) defines a matrifocal type of family as a ". . . co-residential kinship group which includes no regularly present male in the role of husband-father. Rather, the effective and enduring relationships within the group are those existing between consanguineal kin." This type of mother-centered family does indeed exist among some of the lower class, or folk oriented, non-Arubans, but appears rare among Arubans and Bonairian residents on the island. Nevertheless, the lower class or folk families do appear to be dominated by women, but in these instances the male is or has been present. The grandmother is in many instances a powerful figure in the home. This is not "matrifocal" in Solien's sense; it is better called matri-centered because the legal husband is often still present in the home but remains in the background while the wife assumes all the responsibilities for the home and children.

There is at present a widening of area interests as shown by the United States anthropologists setting up a research institute on Aruba which would presumably bring the Netherlands Antilles into better focus. There has also been a general trend toward broader theoretical and applied interests. In 1965, Sidney Mintz wrote (p. 105):

> To some extent, however, ethnological emphasis appears to be shifting. Concern with familial and domestic organization which dominated Caribbean ethnological research several years ago, seems declining, while the number of papers on culture and personality, and on cultural problems of the wiser society, has risen.

Even more progress is being made at present. According to Comitas (1967:118) there is

> Increasing emphasis . . . placed on studies that can contribute directly to practical issues and problems, so that anthropological research on topics such as political behavior, race relations, health education, and development is on the upswing. Even though more conventional subjects of family structure, religion, and the nature of West Indian society continue to appeal to Caribbeanists, the objectives of such studies are now linked to wider social issues.

As previously stated, some studies have dealt with the East Indians and Creoles comparatively (Freilich 1963; Green 1964; Klass 1960; Roberts and Braithwaite 1962). But few actual field studies of aspects of the overall ethnic relations have been attempted. It is suggested that the use of voluntary associations in such cases may yield a variety of multidimensional data (see page 212) which might lead to better understanding of interaction patterns in either heterogeneous or plural societies. It seems that a fruitful use of voluntary associations presupposes reliance on the concepts of social field (Epstein 1958:234) and of networks of social relationships, the method when adequately applied would be ideal for getting at interrelationships between the various

segments which comprise a society. If supplemented by other techniques an even greater depth of understanding might be reached.

Results

The data of this study seem to indicate that there is a high degree of interaction between native and non-native Aruban populations. This often depends on the personal interest of individuals on the lower educational and economic level, but the frequency and intensity of the contacts may increase as one goes up the educational and economic scale. Also there is an element of differential acculturation depending on where one lives on the island. Native Arubans living in Oranjestad or Sint Nicolaas may have more frequent and diversified contacts with non-Arubans than the natives who live in more isolated areas. Non-Arubans who live outside of Sint Nicolaas may on the whole have more frequent and diversified contact with native Arubans as they are in more constant contact with the latter and are generally more isolated from their own groups. Social contacts across ethnic lines are usually within the same general "class" or economic lines. The folk elements of both the non-native and native populations are more withdrawn.

However, there appears to be a higher degree of interaction on the folk level between those coming from fairly similar backgrounds, for example, some Britishers and Windward Islanders, although others remain aloof from each other. French patois-speaking Britishers and the few remaining French, Arubans, and Bonairians, and Arubans and Venezuelans appear to have close relationships. Although the majority of the British, Venezuelans, French, and some Windward Islanders have left, there are still a large number of non-native, non-Dutch residents on the

island. The mechanisms which facilitate interaction and promote varying degrees of integration are:

(1) Language. Shibutani and Kwan (1965:285) have stated: "People in a given ethnic category are culturally distinct, then, only to the extent that they participate together in exclusive communication channels," and are of the opinion that ". . . a minority group develops a distinctive outlook to the extent that it has its own communication channels." In Aruba members of the various ethnic groups often have a wide choice of linguistic communication channels.

The use of three languages, Papiamentu, Dutch and English, for official communications and the use of a fourth, Spanish, for a number of business operations has created a situation in which some members in each family are usually able to communicate in at least two languages. The policy of the news media and official circles in giving reports in various languages increases the general awareness of events and reduces the degree of isolation. This is not to say that some individuals are not limited to one language. There are monolinguals; they, however, appear to be a small minority. Younger, well educated islanders are able to communicate to some degree in all four languages. Some individuals have excellent command of all four; therefore, Aruba would be an excellent area in which to test some of the old theses that bilingualism has a retarding effect. Studies of this nature have usually been conducted by the social scientists in countries where monolingualism is the preferred state, and where the bilingual persons are predominantly of folk or peasant stock with limited vocabularies in both languages.

Shibutani and Kwan (1965:524) continue this line of reasoning when they state:

> Although evidence is as yet inconclusive, there are indications that bilingualism may retard intellectual development. Most bilingual children show a smaller vocabulary in each language, and even their combined vocabulary is in many cases lower than that of monolingual children.

The degree to which some young non-native islanders of English or Spanish backgrounds are adjusted to the Aruban situation can be seen in the extent to which they rely on Papiamentu or Dutch to express themselves on important matters.

(2) Marriage and Kinship. Native Arubans formerly attempted to limit marriages within their own group, even to the extent of preferring marriage within given communities, but over the years this pattern has been broken. At present one meets children of Surinam-Aruban, Dutch-Aruban, Chinese-Aruban, Venezuelan-Aruban, Windward Island-Aruban, Bonairian-Aruban parentage, and a number of Britishers have Aruban wives. Non-Arubans of all groups have entered interethnic marriages and liaisons. Although children with one Aruban parent often feel Aruban, many in the latter category feel Antillean as well, and it thus appears that the foundation for a true Antillean nation is being formed.

(3) Voluntary Associations. These operate to aid interaction both within and between associations, often across both class and ethnic lines. The general interaction among all the island associations is facilitated by an interwoven pattern of personal relationships resulting from the fact that many of the members of most associations belong to a number of other organizations which cut across the national, local, ethnic and professional lines mentioned in Figures 3 and 4.

(4) Specialization and Religion. At one time there was a certain amount of occupational specialization by ethnic groups which meant that they occupied needed and acceptable niches in the economic structure. However, except for groups such as the Dutch, generally the Portuguese, and the Americans (who in the eyes of the islanders were essentially outside the system), the occupational specialization did not constitute a clear system of ethnic stratification as members of each group occupied posts at all levels within the society. This situation may, therefore, refute the generalization made by Shibutani and Kwan (1965:378) that "where a system of ethnic stratification is not firmly established, persons of different ethnic categories are brought into direct competition with each other." At present the Aruban situation is changing, but it is due primarily to a shift in the economic situation in the face of limited economic resources and Aruban interest in and preparation for a variety of posts. The growing competition with Arubans is causing some anxiety among the non-native Aruban population.

Religion has been both a positive and a negative integrative mechanism. It would appear that in general the positive effect has been predominant, due to the fact that religious institutions such as the church and the school served as common meeting grounds for members of varying ethnic groups.

(5) The State Apparatus. Certain parts of the state system have operated to facilitate integration among the various groups, such as the educational system. Students of all backgrounds begin with instruction in Dutch upon entering school. Those who are not from Dutch or Surinam homes (and even a few of the latter) start out thus with an equal

disadvantage, but it is possible, depending on home interest, to overcome this language limitation. The official immigration policy has tended to encourage retention of ethnic identification by allocation of Aruban nationality to persons of Aruban parentage and those born on the island of parents having the Dutch nationality. In addition, the latter point does not seem to be clearly understood by a number of the general public, including those with "Dutch rights". They tend to operate as though Aruban nationality were legally restricted entirely to those of native Aruban parentage. This firm immigration policy appears to be the Aruban method of dealing with problems of potential population stress under conditions of limited economic resources. In addition, there is an official federal attempt at unifying Curaçaleñans, Arubans, Bonairians, and Windward Islanders as members of different island communities into a single Antillean entity. This, of course, tends to isolate the forementioned islanders from not only those of non-Dutch nationality, but also from the Surinamers and the Holland Dutch.

(6) The Industrial Complex. The presence of the refinery has acted primarily as a unifying force by its lumping of practically all the ethnic groups together as "locals" versus "foreign" staff. Construction of company housing meant that most local employees in certain wage categories might reside in the same areas. In addition, the actual day to day working experience allowed workers of different ethnic groups to broaden their networks of social relationships.

(7) The "National" Culture. This developed out of interaction of the traditional Aruban culture and the mosaic of cultural patterns, with United States, that is, Lago, and general British West Indian

predominating, but modified by other Antillean and Surinam characteristics which came in with the masses of outside workers. The present form of the national culture appears to have crystallized in approximately five to seven years and has had influences from New York City, Caracas, Holland, and Curaçao.

There is evidence of the operation of both situational change (Gluckman 1966b:Mayer 1961) and situational selection. Non-native Arubans accuse many of the native Arubans of situational selection when the latter spend a number of years abroad at school and return and slip into an earlier behavior pattern as though they had never left. This was felt to apply to a more limited extent to some Windward Islanders also. Behavior of this type is also reported for some of the non-native Arubans who lead a circumspect life while in Aruba due to the immigration policy, but on occasions revert to their old patterns while back on their home islands "on vacation".

Other cases of situational selection have occurred in the shift from the work to the home situation. In the past especially, and in the present, a few Lago employees act in a highly efficient, almost American-businessman, role on the job, but feel that they must shift to the non-competitive Antillean role with friends in an intimate context. Members of the various ethnic groups do sometimes operate in their private lives as Trinidadians, Bonairians, Arubans or Sabans; this is, in part, due not only to official national policies, but it is also a response to a past insular attitude in which island connections were their widest and most real national contacts.

In Aruba everyone who is of non-native parentage has a place of origin, and it is on this basis that one initially enters the system. It is apparent that in many cases the true place of origin is of little interest as both native and non-native Arubans frequently are unaware of the actual place of origin of their friends. Among non-native Arubans this may be somewhat less so, for they may discuss mutual immigration problems.

This seems to indicate that, except for initial classificatory purposes and on an official level, ethnicity is important only on the verbal level. Friendship patterns and individual behavior appear of greater actual importance.

It is important to remember that this conclusion is drawn from data collected in the 1967-1968 period. There are indications that relationships are much freer at present among the native Arubans and non-natives, and especially among the darker non-natives. Even now, there are occasional problems, one of which was witnessed by the writer. Basically it involved problems of class behavior more than race. However, as a number of the darker non-natives are on the lowest levels of the educational and income scale, differential types of behavior continually call forth claims of color prejudice, for a black man who behaves well is either not seen or is thought of as a brown man. A black man who behaves badly in terms of general social etiquette is definitely seen as a black man and criticism against all blacks falls cumulatively on his shoulders. He, in turn, immediately feels discriminated against. Some darker residents claim that social interaction is much improved between darker persons and native Arubans over

past years. In discussing general West Indian patterns, Lowenthal (1967:584) has stated: ". . . race relations in the West Indies today seem especially benign by contrast with the past. Ethnic distinctions have mattered more and longer there than in any other part of the new world." His focus, however, as is that of Hoetink (1967), is on the Dutch West Indies as a non-Iberian realm. The history of Aruba indicates that although it was officially Dutch, the combined isolation from an effective Dutch contact community and resulting close contact with the Latin American mainland give it an Iberian orientation, which together with its relative poverty during the slavery period and small number of slaves, resulted in an orientation distinct from that of Curaçao. It is significant that in Aruba there was no comparative development of structured racial prejudice of the type which developed in the Canal Zone, even with the presence of an American dominated refinery.

It would seem that the use of voluntary associations as a tool for the study of interrelationships in heterogeneous and plural societies can be as effective in the Caribbean as in West Africa and other areas, such as the United States, where Warner and his colleagues have worked with voluntary associations. The collection and analysis of data via voluntary associations allows for an understanding of the kinds of interethnic interaction and types of relationships involved as it criss-crosses lines of class, ethnicity, and community, while also cross-cutting the various systems which comprise a society.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE USED DURING THE SCHEDULED INTERVIEWS

As the questionnaire was compiled after exploratory research of the island was conducted, the questions as a whole were relevant to the particular Aruban situation. The questions were mimeographed and the answers were written on the sheets in the presence of the informant(s).

1. Name of organization.
2. Type of organization.
3. When founded?
4. By whom? . . . . (Name and position then and now.)
5. For what reasons?
6. How has the organization changed from the founding date to the present?
7. What are the activities of the organization? List them.
8. What would you say this organization or its program(s) does for: (a) the members; (b) the community; (c) Aruba as a whole?
9. How many members are on the roll?
10. How many would you say are active?
11. What do you consider as active?
12. About how many members would you estimate have left the island?
13. For what reasons?
14. Other reasons why members leave?
15. Types of membership.
    What are the membership requirements of this organization? (Fees?)
16. How does one become a member? Invitation; invitation then application; etc.
17. Is there a waiting, or an approval, or indoctrination period?
18. Exactly what happens during that time?
19. Who are members in terms of types of work?
    (a) Professionals (teachers, M.D.'s, social workers)
    (b) Established businessmen
    (c) Technicians
    (d) Clerical workers and clerks
    (e) Household workers (gardeners, servants)
    (f) Small shop owners (beauticians, rum shop owners, etc.)
    (g) Tradesmen, etc.

20. Do you have members who are primarily descendants of:_
    (a) Nederlanders
    (b) Arubans
    (c) Bonairians
    (d) Curaçaleñans
    (e) Windward Islanders
    (f) British West Indians
    (g) Surinamers
    (h) Foreign Europeans (including Portugal, United States, Canada, etc.)
    (i) Latin Americans
    (j) Mixed Antillean
21. In roughly what percentages?
22. Has this composition changed over the years? . . . How?
23. Do most of your members live in a certain area of the island?
24. Where, within a certain neighborhood?
25. What religions would you say are represented among your members?
26. Has this changed over the years?
27. (Own facilities, i.e., club house)
    What other groups use your facilities? By name and ethnicity if possible.
28. For what purposes?
29. Does your association have social events? Cultural events?
30. What types?
31. Does your association have many social events for the members only?
32. Is there sufficient membership to make these private affairs practical?
33. Which bands have played here?
34. Which have played most frequently?
35. Does your association have many public events?
36. What types?
37. From what groups would you say most of the public participation is drawn?
    (a) Community at large
    (b) Arubans
    (c) Curaçaleñans
    (d) Bonairians
    (e) Surinamers
    (f) Windward Islanders
    (g) British West Indians
    (h) Latin Americans
    (i) Nederlanders
    (j) Foreign Europeans
38. (Diplomatically try to get at the strata.)
39. Are the majority of the members married or unmarried?
40. Do their families participate, too, or is there only one member of the family participating in or using club facilities?
41. What would you estimate as the highest number of grades completed by most of the members?
42. What would you estimate as the lowest number of grades (in school) completed by members?

43. What is the order of your meeting: (What types of meetings do you have? When are elections? What officers do you have?)
44. What symbols do you use: flags, etc?
45. In what types of activities do you compete or cooperate with other club groups?
46. Names of the other organizations.
47. With which of the above does your group have most contact?
48. Least contact?
49. What would you list as one of the accomplishments of your organization?
50. What would you say have been the main changes in your organization over the years?
51. What would you say have been the main changes in Aruba over the years?
52. What would you say have been the main changes in Arubans over the years?
53. Do many of your members belong to other organizations: For example?
54. How would you describe relations between members of your organization and the
    (a) Aruban public generally
        (Bonairian public generally)
    (b) Curaçaleñan public generally
    (c) Windward Islanders generally
    (d) Surinamers
    (e) British West Indians
    (f) Latin Americans
    (g) Netherlanders
    (h) Foreign Europeans

For Ethnic Organizations (primarily):

55. What were the members' general reasons for coming to Aruba?
56. What were the reasons given by a majority of the migrants?
57. What were the reasons given by a minority of the migrants?
58. Of the members, what percentage would you say are of your ethnic group?
59. Of the members, what percentage would you say are outsiders?
60. Actual number of outside members?
61. Is there an effort by the association to involve other groups in activities? In membership?
62. Which groups?
63. How long has this policy been in effect?
64. Do you know if other organizations are trying to involve other groups?

For Native Aruban Groups:

65. What would you say was the reaction of a majority of Arubans to the establishment of Lago?
66. The majority reaction to the arrival of the outside workers at first? Later?
67. What do you see as the future of your association?
68. Which periods would you consider peak period(s) in the history of the organization?
69. Which periods would you consider worse period(s) in the history of the organization?
70. What factors outside the club would you say keeps the association from functioning or operating as well as it could?
71. What factors within the organization itself would you say keeps the association from functioning or operating as well as it could?
72. Which other clubs do you think your members would be most likely to go to? Least likely to go to?

APPENDIX B

CATEGORIES USED FOR CLASSIFICATION OF FIELD DATA

Full daily notes were kept in addition to the general field diary, and the formal questionnaire. The field analysis was therefore based on data from three varying but generally overlapping sources.

1. General impressions of Aruba
2. Description of restaurants and stores
3. Description of homes
4. Individual interaction
5. Intergroup interaction
6. Interclub interaction
7. General club organization and government administration of clubs
8. Ethnic Club #11 activities and organization
9. Ethnic Club #5 activities and organization
10. Ethnic Club #4 activities and organization
11. Ethnic Club #6 activities and organization
12. General Club #7
13. General Club #3
14. General Club #2
15. General Club #1
16. Ethnic Club #12
17. Ethnic Club #7
18. Ethnic Club #3
19. Service Club #2
20. Sports Club #1
21. Sports Club #3
22. Youth Club #2
23. Youth Club #3
24. Lodge #1
25. Lodge #6; #4
26. Lodge #5; #3
27. Women's Clubs #3; #2
28. Sports Clubs #2; #6; #7
29. Service Clubs #3; #5; #6
30. Religious Men's Club #1; Religious Women's Clubs
31. Welfare Association #1
32. Aruban Clubs, General
33. WI Clubs, general
34. BWI Clubs, general

35. General Clubs
36. Problems of classifications of clubs
37. Arubans attitude to outsiders
38. WI attitudes to BWI and Aruba
39. BWI attitudes to Aruba and WI
40. Attitudes re class
41. Marriage
42. Relationship between family members
43. Compadrazco
44. Aruban ideas re male-female relations
45. WI ideas re male-female relations
46. BWI ideas re male-female relations
47. Aruban ideas re rearing children
48. WI ideas re rearing children
49. BWI ideas re rearing children
50. Ideas about death and funeral, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao
51. Ideas about death and funeral, WI
52. Ideas about death and funeral, BWI
53. Ideas about birth and births, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao
54. Ideas about birth and births, WI
55. Ideas about birth and births, BWI
56. Magical beliefs
57. Myths and history
58. Church and religious life
59. Clergy and nuns
60. Illness
61. Remedies
62. Physical types
63. Educational system and values
64. Jobs, salaries
65. Employee relations
66. Service
67. Government administration
68. Law and justice
69. Politics
70. Passatiempos
71. Sports
72. Music; art
73. Clothing; prices; food
74. Diet
75. Vegetation - landscape
76. Archaeology
77. Agriculture
78. Transportation
79. Papiamentu usages, values
80. Language shifts and variations
81. Feeling re use of various languages

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